











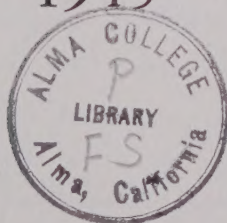




# FRANCISCAN STUDIES



Volume 5  
1945



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# FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A Quarterly  
Review



MARCH  
1945

5  
1945

VOLUME 26

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 5

NUMBER 1

CHRIST'S RÔLE IN THE UNIVERSE ACCORDING TO ST. IRENAEUS

*Dominic Unger, O. F. M. Cap.*

MARIGNOLLI AND THE DECLINE OF MEDIEVAL MISSIONS IN CHINA

*Marion A. Habig, O. F. M.*

IN PROPRIA CAUSA

*Philothens Boehner, O. F. M.*

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THOMAS OF CELANO

*Gilbert Wdzieczny, O. F. M. Conv.*

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BOOK REVIEWS

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devoted advertisement

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A Quarterly  
Review



JUNE  
1945

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VOLUME 26

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 5

NUMBER 2

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THE POINTED ARCH IN FRANCISCAN THEOLOGY

*Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M.*

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Part II

*Dominic Unger, O. F. M. Cap.*

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*Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M.*

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FRANCISCANA

BOOK REVIEWS

O'Brien, *Mirror of Christ: Francis of Assisi*; Vander Veldt, *The City Set on a Hill*; Biskupek, *Deaconship: Conferences on the Rite of Ordination*; Lewis, *The Problem of Pain*; Stranathan, *Particles of Modern Physics*; Justin de Montagnac, *Le P. Alexis de Barbezieux*; Georges de Quebec, *L'Eglise Catholique au Canada*.

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A Quarterly  
Review



SEPTEMBER  
1945

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VOLUME 26

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 5

NUMBER 3

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THE REBIRTH OF THE FINE ARTS AND FRANCISCAN THOUGHT

Introduction

Harry B. Gutman

THE PROLOGUE TO OCKHAM'S EXPOSITION OF THE PHYSICS OF ARISTOTLE

Gaudens E. Mohan, O.F.M.

CORNELIUS MUSSO, TRIDENTINE THEOLOGIAN AND ORATOR

Roger J. Bartman, O.F.M.Conv.

WHO KEPT THE FRANCISCAN RECOLLECTS OUT OF CANADA?

John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap.

COMMENTARIES

Professor Pegis and Historical Philosophy

Ernest A. Moody

*The Nature and Origins of Scientism*

Philotheus Bæhner, O.F.M.

## In Memoriam

FRANCISCANA

BOOK REVIEWS

Doheny, *Canonical Procedure in Matrimonial Cases*; Meyer, *The Pastoral Care of Souls*; Longpré, *The Kingship of Christ According to Saint Bonaventure and Blessed Duns Scotus*; Hodgson, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*; Bæhner, *The 'Tractatus de Successivis' Attributed to William of Ockham*; Pegis, *Essays in Modern Scholasticism*; de Valigny, *Chroniques des plus anciennes Eglises de l'Acadie*; Meersman, *The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India*; Pohlkamp, *First Franciscan Missionary in Kentucky*; Yu-Pin, *Eyes East*.

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A Quarterly  
Review

DECEMBER  
1945

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VOLUME 26

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 5

NUMBER 4

---

THE "DE FONTIBUS PARADISI" OF ALEXANDER IV ON THE "SUMMA  
THEOLOGICA" OF ALEXANDER OF HALES

*Robert Prentice, O.F.M.*

ALEXANDER OF HALES, O.F.M.; HIS LIFE AND INFLUENCE ON  
MEDIEVAL SCHOLASTICISM

*Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv.*

THE SYSTEM OF METAPHYSICS OF ALEXANDER OF HALES

*Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M.*

A MANUSCRIPT OF ALEXANDER OF HALES

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THE "INTELLECTUS AGENS" IN THE "SUMMA" OF ALEXANDER OF  
HALES

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ALEXANDER OF HALES

*Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

Giordani, *The Social Message of the Early Church Fathers*; Cunningham, *The Morality of Organic Transplantation*; Hellriegel, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*; Sencourt, *Carmelite and Poet: A Framed Portrait of St. John of the Cross*; O'Brien, *Measgra Mhichil Ui Chlerigh, Studies in Honor of Brother Mhichil Ui Chlerigh, Chief of the Four Masters*; Augustine, *Some Loves of the Seraphic Saint*; Bourke, *Thomistic Bibliography*; Kock and Riedl, *Giles of Rome: Errores Philosophorum*; Bittle, *The Whole Man: Psychology*; Brennan, *History of Psychology from the Standpoint of a Thomist*; du Noüy, *La Dignité Humaine*; Quillian, *The Moral Theory of Evolutionary Naturalism*; Comenius, *The Angel of Peace*; Werfel, *Between Heaven and Earth*; Beck, *The Nurse*.

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MARCH, 1945

VOLUME 26

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 5

NUMBER 1

## CONTENTS

CHRIST'S RÔLE IN THE UNIVERSE ACCORDING TO ST. IRENAEUS . . . . .	<i>Dominic Unger, O. F. M. Cap.</i>	3
MARIGNOLLI AND THE DECLINE OF MEDIEVAL MISSIONS IN CHINA . . . . .	<i>Marion A. Habig, O. F. M.</i>	21
IN PROPRIA CAUSA . . . . .	<i>Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M.</i>	37
THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THOMAS OF CELANO . . . . .	<i>Gilbert Wdzieczny, O. F. M. Conv.</i>	55
FRANCISCANA . . . . .		69
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .		81

Meyer, *The Philosophy of St. Thomas*; Reinhardt, *A Realistic Philosophy*; Jaeger, *Humanism and Theology*; Cassidy, *Molders of the Medieval Mind*; Biasiotto, *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name*; Huber, *Sources of Franciscan History*; Rippy and Perigo, *Latin America: Its History and Culture*; Horkheimer and Diffor, *Educators' Guide to Free Films*; FitzGerald, *A Catalogue of Catholic Authors and Their Works in the Utica Public Library*; Keller, *A Study of the Physical Assets, Sometimes Called Wealth, of the United States, 1922-1933*; Clark and Rimanoczy, *How We Live*.

BOOKS RECEIVED . . . . .		93
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## CHRIST'S RÔLE IN THE UNIVERSE ACCORDING TO ST. IRENAEUS

ST. IRENAEUS fought strenuously against the mean system of errors called Gnosticism. The Gnostics began with contempt of material things and ended with contempt of the Creator Himself; and as a matter of course, they contemned all that took place under the Old Dispensation.

In the beginning, they said, there was only the invisible, unbegotten Father. Later there was also a world of spirits (aeons), but all these were produced. Even the only-begotten Son and Word and Wisdom, three distinct aeons, were produced. All the aeons were arranged systematically to form the Fullness (Pleroma). All went well in the Fullness until Wisdom sinned and was cast out. Then the Father suggested that the only-begotten Son beget the Christ and the Spirit, who should strengthen and preserve the other aeons lest a like fate befall them.

After Wisdom had been cast out she begot Demiurge, who turned out to be the creator of the material world. Because of Wisdom, the mother, there was a spark of the spiritual in all creatures. Only this spiritual element could be saved; the material could not.



All the aeons now combined their efforts to produce the Saviour. He came into the world to save the spiritual in creatures by bringing them a superior knowledge called Gnosis. He did not become incarnate; He merely descended upon Jesus, a mere man, at baptism and, having announced the Father, again ascended into heaven. Jesus alone suffered, and He was neither the only-begotten, nor the Word, nor the Christ, nor the Saviour.<sup>1</sup>

That is in general the very confused doctrine of the Gnostics. In contrast with this muddled and mystifying system of aeons we have the clear, unified, and fairly complete theology of St. Irenaeus. There is only one God. This one God planned and formed the entire created world of angels as well as of men; and that, not through some creature, but through His only-begotten Son Who is also the Eternal Word, and through the Holy Spirit, co-eternal with Father and Son.<sup>2</sup> This same Eternal Word really and truly became man, assuming our flesh and blood; and this same Incarnate Word is Christ Jesus.<sup>3</sup> What is more, this Christ Jesus is the One Who suffered and died for us in order to save us.<sup>4</sup> In this theological teaching there is certainly a marvelous unity of God and of His work.

St. Irenaeus, we should note, insists that God, through His Eternal Word, plans everything. Nothing happens unforeseen or by chance, as in the heretical systems.<sup>5</sup> God planned creation;<sup>6</sup> He planned salvation;<sup>7</sup> He planned the perfection of man.<sup>8</sup> These are fundamental truths found in the creed which St. Irenaeus gives to the Christians.<sup>9</sup>

Everyone can know a good deal about the plan of God, St. Irenaeus tells us; but some may have a deeper knowledge of it, especially of the question why the Word became man and why He suffered.<sup>10</sup> What does St. Irenaeus claim to know about these things?

1. Cf. *Adversus Haereses*, lib. 3, c. 11, n. 3 (*P. G.*, 7, 881); c. 16, n. 1 (7, 919 *et seq.*).

2. Cf. *op. cit.*, lib. 1, c. 22, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 669).

3. Cf. *op. cit.*, lib. 1, c. 9, n. 3 (*P. G.*, 7, 542 *et seq.*); c. 10, n. 1 (7, 550); lib. 3, c. 11, n. 1 (7, 880); and *passim*.

4. Cf. *op. cit.*, lib. 3, c. 12, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 894).

5. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 16, n. 6 (*P. G.*, 7, 926); cf. also lib. 4, c. 4, n. 2 (7, 982).

6. *Ibid.*, lib. 2, c. 3, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 717).

7. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 11, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 880).

8. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 37, n. 7 (*P. G.*, 7, 1104).

9. *Ibid.*, lib. 1, c. 10, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 549 *et seq.*).

10. *Ibid.*, n. 3 (*P. G.*, 7, 555).

What rôle does he ascribe to the Word Incarnate in God's plan of the universe? He deals with these problems *ex professo* when he refutes the heretics in regard to dividing the Son of God and His work.

The aim of this study is to draw a complete picture of Christ in the universe according to the mind of St. Irenaeus. Without seeming to assume what is to be proved, it might prove helpful to give a bird's-eye view of the picture here. Christ was intended by God as the End of all creation from the very beginning. Moreover, God modeled all creatures upon the God-Man. Man himself, both in body and soul, in grace and glory, has his pattern in the Incarnate Son of God. Christ is not only the final and exemplary Cause of man, but also the efficient Cause. Man cannot attain to perfection except through the mediation of the Incarnate Word; and Christ was intended to be Mediator of man's perfection, not merely after man sinned, but from the very beginning of Adam's creation. In particular, Christ was intended to be Mediator of man's supernatural knowledge, of his adopted sonship, deification, and glory. All these elements of man's perfection belong to Christ as Saviour from the very beginning of Adam's creation, because "Saviour" means to preserve as well as to liberate; it means to perfect, to glorify, to make incorrupt. Christ was meant to be all this even before God foresaw that Adam would sin. St. Irenaeus sums up this work of Christ in perfecting man in the expression "recapitulation." Christ recapitulates man, unites him to Himself as to a head, sums up man in His own perfect human nature, and makes him like to Himself in nature, grace, and glory, and that through His own grace and glory. Christ was, therefore, in the very first picture of creation, and indeed as the first and foremost being in it. God willed Christ primarily because of His supreme excellence, which means, ultimately because of God's own goodness.

#### CHRIST IS THE END OF MAN AND OF ALL CREATION

St. Irenaeus teaches expressly that all creation is made for man.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, he is just as explicit in saying that man, and even the angels, must finally serve Christ as their King and be subject to Him eternally. That is the very purpose of the final recapitulation of Christ:

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11. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 7, n. 4 (*P. G.*, 7, 992); lib. 5, c. 29, n. 1 (7, 1201).

The Church [believes] . . . in His coming from heaven in the glory of the Father "to re-establish all things" (Eph. 1:10), and to raise up all flesh of the human race, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, "every knee should bend of those in heaven, on earth and under the earth, and every tongue should confess" (Phil. 2:10, 11) to Him, and that He should exercise just judgment toward all; that He may send "the spiritual forces of wickedness" (Eph. 6:12), and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, and the ungodly and unrighteous and wicked and blasphemous men, into everlasting fire; but that He, bestowing life on the righteous and holy, may confer on them the gift of incorruption and may clothe them with everlasting glory.<sup>12</sup>

All of Christ's acts, therefore, from the Incarnation until the glorification of man were meant for His glory; men and angels will have to serve Christ for ever and ever. Was such a Christ in the universal plan only after the fall of Adam?

Christ has received dominion over *all* creation from His Father: "nor would they have named any one Lord, except God the Father Who rules over all, and His Son Who received dominion from His Father over all creation. . . ."<sup>13</sup> Taken by itself, this passage would be true even if Christ had come only after the fall and would have had dominion only over the redeemed world. However, in the light of St. Irenaeus' doctrine about Christ as Mediator of man from the beginning, which we shall discuss below, such a limitation is not warranted. The words must be taken in their absolute and broadest meaning: Christ's dominion includes *all* creation from the very beginning. And so all creation is for the glory of Christ.

### CHRIST IS THE EXEMPLAR OF MAN

The Gnostics had set up a very elaborate and complicated system of exemplars.<sup>14</sup> It is to be expected, then, that St. Irenaeus, having rejected their systems, will inform us what the facts are. And indeed, time and again he tells us that God created man according to His own image and likeness.<sup>15</sup> The Father works through the Son, Who is

12. *Ibid.*, lib. 1, c. 10, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 550 *et seq.*). The translation of these passages was verified according to the Greek wherever that is extant.

13. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 6, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 860).

14. Cf. *op. cit.*, lib. 2, c. 7, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 726); c. 26, n. 1 (7, 758).

15. Cf. *op. cit.*, lib. 4, Praef., n. 4 (*P. G.*, 7, 975); c. 20, n. 1 (7, 1032); lib. 5, c. 16, n. 1 (7, 1167).

His perfect image. The Father used Him as Exemplar of all creation. Man was, therefore, made according to the image and likeness of the Eternal Word.<sup>16</sup>

Is man created according to the image of the *Incarnate* Word, too? Man is certainly like the Incarnate Word because man is like God, and the Son as Man is the perfect likeness of the Father. We are, however, interested in knowing whether man was created according to the image of the God-Man; that is, whether Christ as Man is the exemplary Cause of man, of Adam, in creation?

St. Irenaeus writes that Christ came to save flesh and blood, and so His flesh and blood had to be of the same nature as Adam's; for if Christ had assumed flesh and blood different from Adam's, the Father would have had to make Adam out of that different flesh and blood.<sup>17</sup> Why? Because the Redeemer and the redeemed, the Saviour and the saved, must have the same nature. But why should there be question at all of the saved conforming to the Saviour, if these existed intentionally before the Saviour? The ultimate reason for St. Irenaeus' position is that the Saviour was in the mind of the Creator before the saved were, and that these were modeled upon Him; therefore, if He were to have different flesh than they, they must conform to Him.

In arguing against the Ebionites, St. Irenaeus states that man is made according to the image of the Son: "But who else is superior to and more eminent than that man who was made after the likeness of God, except the Son of God, after whose likeness man was made?"<sup>18</sup> This Son is the Incarnate Son, for he says in the same number: "And for this reason He manifested the likeness in these last days: the Son of God was made man, assuming the ancient production unto Himself (*in semetipsum suscipiens*)"; that is, since man was made according to the Son's image, the Son became man to manifest that image; but the Son Incarnate shows the image precisely as Incarnate. The same thought is clearly implied in the following:

This Word, however, was manifested when the Word of God was made man, assimilating Himself to man and man to Himself, so that by his likeness to the Son man might become precious to the Father. For in former times

16. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 33, n. 4 (*P. G.*, 7, 1075).

17. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 14, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 1161).

18. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 33, n. 4 (*P. G.*, 7, 1075).



it was said that man was created after the image of God, but the image was not shown; for the Word, after Whose image man had been created, was as yet invisible. For this reason man easily lost the likeness. When, however, the Word of God was made flesh, He confirmed both [the image and the likeness]: for He truly (ἀληθῶς) showed forth the image, since He himself became what His image was; and He firmly restored the likeness by making man like the invisible Father by means of the visible Word.<sup>19</sup>

St. Irenaeus distinguishes here between the image and the likeness; the image is in the natural part of man, in the body and soul, the likeness is in grace which was lost. So the Incarnate Son shows forth the image by His body and soul. Man's likeness, which was also according to the Son, was lost. Christ restored it. Both in the natural and supernatural order man is made to the likeness of the Incarnate Son.

In the light of this doctrine it is easier to see how St. Irenaeus can speak of God's forming the body of Adam according to His image.<sup>20</sup> True, the body, like all material things, has God's divine nature as exemplar; but St. Irenaeus has a deeper meaning here than that. God used an intermediary exemplar — the body of the God-Man.

If, therefore, Christ is said to restore to us the likeness of God which we lost in Adam,<sup>21</sup> He is in reality restoring His own likeness according to which man had been created and elevated to grace in the beginning.

Christ is the Exemplar not only of the body and soul and grace, but also of glory. As a matter of fact, man will be the perfected image of the Son in his glorious life.<sup>22</sup> And that likeness will be not only in the soul but also in the body; for St. Irenaeus is speaking of the incorruption of the glorious *body*. Was this likeness of our glorious body to Christ intended by God before the fall? It would seem so merely from the fact that man was destined to glory of the body before the fall; and St. Irenaeus has not the slightest hint that God changed to a new plan of glory for man, namely, glory unlike Christ's

19. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 16, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1167).

20. *Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae*, editio S. Weber (Freiburg in B., 1917), n. 11.

21. *Adversus Haereses*, lib. 3, c. 18, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 932); lib. 5, c. 14, n. 1 (7, 1160).

22. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 8, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1142); c. 36, n. 3 (7, 1224).



before the fall, and glory like Christ's after the fall. Our glory was simply intended to be like that of the God-Man.

The body of man was created according to the image of God; but in glory it will be made like the Son's, and only then will it be completely like God:

Now, God will be glorified in His handiwork by making it conform and correspond to His Servant (Is. 42:11). For by the hands of the Father, that is, by the Son and the Holy Spirit, man, and not part of man, was made to the likeness of God. Now the soul and the spirit can be part of man, but by no means the [whole] man; for the perfect man consists in the mingling and union of the soul with the flesh, which was molded according to the image of God, the soul assuming the Spirit of the Father.<sup>23</sup>

So St. Irenaeus identifies "being made like the Son" and "being made like God." But the likeness here is to the Incarnate Son, as is clear from the fact that it is a likeness in body. But man was intended to be like God at creation; so also he was intended to be like the Incarnate Son of God at creation.

#### CHRIST IS THE MEDIATOR OF MAN'S PERFECTION

St. Irenaeus teaches that God willed to perfect man, that is, to lead him gradually to glory, through the mediation of the Incarnate Word. The God-Man was necessary for this, not because man had been infected by sin, but because he is a creature; He was not absolutely necessary; He was necessary merely because God willed it so.

St. Irenaeus treats of this *ex professo*, especially in the fourth book, chapter 38, *Adversus Haereses*. Here he answers the objection that God did not create man perfect in the beginning. By "perfect" the objectors and St. Irenaeus meant glorified, incorruptible in body as well as in soul. The Saint makes that clear in several passages:

... receiving increase from Him Who is perfect and Who is before all creation — we who were but recently created by the only good, even very best, Being (*optimo et bono*), by Him Who has the gift of incorruptibility ... giving us incorruptibility. ...<sup>24</sup>

... and adopting him as a son; and at the proper time bestowing the incorruptible inheritance for the perfection of man.<sup>25</sup>

23. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 6, n. 1 (7, 1136): "Conforme illud et consequens suo puero adaptans ... perfectus autem homo homo commistio et adunitio est animae assumptis Spiritum Patris, et admista ei carni. ..." The Greek of this passage is not extant.

24. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 1, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1120).

25. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 11, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1002).

... and having been glorified, to see his Lord. For God wants us to see Him; the vision of God, however, is the cause of incorruptibility; but incorruptibility brings us near God.<sup>26</sup>

Besides, this perfection is certainly not mere natural perfection; man was created perfect in the natural order.<sup>27</sup> It must be a supernatural gift. But it is not sanctifying grace; Adam had that, too, from the beginning. Nor is it confirmation in grace; Adam lost grace. So it can be nothing else but glory.

St. Irenaeus answers the objection of the heretics by saying that God was quite capable of making man perfect from the beginning, but man being a creature and an infant, had to be lifted out of this infancy.

If, however, any one says, "What then? Could not God have made man perfect from the beginning?" let him know that as far as God is concerned, since He is always the same and unbegotten, all things are possible. But created things, by the very fact that they had a later origin, must be inferior to Him Who created them, for things recently made could not have been uncreated (*ἀγέννητα*). For this very reason they fall short of being perfect. Because in as much as they are of later origin, they are infantile; and in as much as they are infantile, they are unaccustomed to, and unexercised in, perfect discipline. For just as a mother could give solid food to her infant, but the infant is not yet able to take food that is too substantial; so also God could have given man perfection from the beginning, but man was incapable of receiving it, since he was still an infant.<sup>28</sup>

From this passage it is evident that the infancy of man, the incapability of receiving glory from the beginning, does not come from sin but from the fact that man is a creature; man is not uncreated (*ἀγέννητος*) as God is. Now the Incarnate Word was willed by God to draw man out of this infancy:

... since he was still an infant. And for this reason our Lord, summing up all things in Himself, came to us in these last times, not as He could have come, but as we were capable of beholding Him. He could easily have come to us in His unspeakable glory, but we could not have endured the greatness of His glory. Therefore, He Who was the perfect Bread of the Father, offered Himself as milk to us who were as infants — that was His coming as man — that we, having been nourished, as it were, from the breasts of His flesh, and having by such nourishment become accustomed to eat and drink

26. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 38, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1108).

27. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 1, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1122 *et seq.*); c. 7, n. 1 (7, 1139); lib. 4, c. 37, n. 4 (7, 1101 *et seq.*). Cf. Franc. M. Risi, Ord. S. Joann. a Deo, *Sul Motivo Primario dell' Incarnazione del Verbo* (Desclee, Roma, 1898), III, 39-53.

28. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 38, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1105).

the Word of God, may be able to retain in ourselves the Bread of immortality, which is the Spirit of the Father.<sup>29</sup>

Also in the following passage St. Irenaeus makes it clear that the Incarnate Word was to elevate man from the state of infancy and gradually accustom him to accept perfection. Having quoted I Cor. 3:2, and commented on it, he makes this application:

... so also God was able in the beginning to grant perfection to man; but man, having been but recently created, could not have received it; nor if he had received it, could he have retained it. . . . And for this reason the Son of God, though He was perfect, became an infant for men (συνενηρίαξεν . . . τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ); thus He made Himself comprehensible to man, not for His own sake, but for the sake of man's infancy. Therefore, the impossibility and the need was not on the part of God, but on the part of man who was but lately created and was not uncreated.<sup>30</sup>

From this passage it is evident that the infancy and impotency of man are due to the fact that man is a creature. In chapter 39, St. Irenaeus again stresses the facts that man could not be perfect from the beginning, and that perfection is glory:

How, then, can he be God who has not yet been made man? How can he be perfect who was but recently created? How can he be immortal who in his mortal nature did not obey his Maker? For thou must first preserve the order of man, and afterwards partake of the glory of God.<sup>31</sup>

The two chapters just quoted give us sure information that Christ was intended as Mediator of man's gradual perfection precisely because he is a creature. And from that it seems certain that Christ was first willed, not after sin had entered the world, but when God willed the creation and perfection of man. The following is an enlightening passage:

Doubtless He speaks these words [namely, Ps. 81:6, 7] to those who have not received the gift of adoption, but who despise the Incarnation of the pure generation of the Word of God, defraud human nature of its ascent to God, and are ungrateful to the Word of God Who became flesh for them. For the Word of God was made Man and He Who is the Son of God became the Son of Man for this end that man, having been united with the Word, might receive the adoption and become the son of God. For in no other way could we have obtained incorruptibility and immortality unless we had been united with incorruptibility and immortality. But how could we be united with incorruptibility and immortality unless incorruptibility and immortality had first

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1105 *et seq.*).

31. *Ibid.*, c. 39, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1109).

become what we are, in order that the corruptible might be swallowed up by incorruptibility, and the mortal by immortality, that we might receive the adoption of sons?<sup>32</sup>

The very fact that he states *simpliciter* that the Son of God became man *in order that* man might become the son of God, leads us to conclude that this was in the original plan when God willed man to be the son of God by adoption, not merely after sin. This is confirmed by the emphatic statement that the Incarnation was necessary for this adoption and perfection of man, not because man had sinned — sin is not mentioned — but because man is a creature, by nature mortal and imperfect.

Without the union of the Immortal Word with mortal man in the Incarnate Word, man was not able to attain immortality. Why? God alone is by nature perfect; He needs no process of perfection. Man, however, being a creature, must be perfected gradually. Having said that God gradually perfects man through the Word, "adopting him as a son and at the proper time bestowing the incorruptible inheritance for the perfection of man,"<sup>33</sup> St. Irenaeus continues:

God differs from man in this that God makes [things], but man is made; He who makes is always the same, but that which is made must receive a beginning and a middle and an addition and an increase. And God makes [things] well; man, however, is made well. God is perfect in all things, being equal and similar to Himself, since He is all Light and all Mind and all Substance and the Fount of all good; but man makes progress toward God. For as God is always the same, so also man, when found in God, will always advance toward God. For neither does God at any time cease bestowing gifts on, and enriching, man; nor does man cease receiving gifts from God and being enriched by Him.<sup>34</sup>

God's will to beatify man completely by union with Himself in the Incarnate Word is the reason of the Incarnation; and this manner of perfecting man is so wonderful that the angels stand in admiration at it.

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32. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 19, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 939). Theodoret has preserved part of the Greek of this passage, which differs from the Latin: Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Λόγος ἄνθρωπος . . . ἵνα ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸν Λόγον χωρήσας, καὶ τὴν υἱοθεσίαν λαβὼν, Υἱὸς γένηται Θεοῦ. "Et qui Filius Dei est, filius hominis factus est, commistus Verbo Dei, ut adoptionem percipiens fiat Filius Dei." I have retained the Latin "commistus" in the translation; i. e., "having been united with," instead of "having taken up." Cf. editor's note in *P. G.*, *loc. cit.*

33. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 11, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 1001).

34. *Ibid.*, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 1002).



For there is one Son Who fulfilled His Father's will; and one human race in which are accomplished the mysteries of God, into which "the angels desire to look" (I Peter 1:12). But they cannot probe the wisdom of God by which His handiwork, conformed to, and incorporated into, His Son, is perfected; namely, that His Son, the Firstborn Word, should descend into the creature, that is, into that which He had molded, and that it should be received by Him; and that the creature should receive the Word and, passing beyond the angels, should ascend to Him and be made after the image and likeness of God.<sup>35</sup>

The fact that at times St. Irenaeus links the redemption from sin with the need for the Incarnation, does not invalidate the above conclusions. The Incarnation was needed for the Redemption. The Conqueror of Satan had to be God and Man. The Incarnation was needed also for perfecting man, and that apart from sin. Of course, after sin was here it had to be removed first by the Redemption, and then the original idea of perfection through the Incarnate Word could operate. In this manner must be understood passages like the following:

Therefore, as I have said, He caused man to adhere to, and be united with, God. For if man had not overcome the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been overcome legitimately. Again, unless God had given salvation, we would not possess it securely. And unless man had been joined to God, he could not be partaker of incorruptibility. For it behooved the Mediator of God and men by His relation to both to bring them together in friendship and concord, and to present man to God, and to make God known to men.<sup>36</sup>

Note this also:

But this is His Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who in these last days was made man among men, that He might join the end to the beginning, that is, man to God. Therefore, the prophets receiving the gift of prophecy from the same Word, predicted His coming in the flesh, by which the mingling and communion of God and man was wrought according to the good pleasure of the Father. The Word of God foretold from the beginning that God would be seen by men, and would converse with them upon earth, and would speak with them, and would be present with His handiwork, saving it, and making Himself capable of being received by it, and freeing us from the hands of all who hate us, that is, from every spirit of disobedience; and

35. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 36, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1224).

36. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 18, n. 7 (P. G., 7, 937): "Ἐδει γὰρ τὸν μεσίτην Θεοῦ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πρὸς ἑκατέρους οἰκειότητος, εἰς φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοῦς ἀμφοτέρους συναγαγεῖν καὶ Θεῷ μὲν παραστήσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ γνωρίσαι τὸν Θεόν. The Latin differs considerably from the Greek: "Ut et Deus assumeret hominem, et homo se dederit Deo."



causing us to serve Him in holiness and justice all our days, in order that man might embrace the Spirit of God and enter into the glory of the Father.<sup>37</sup>

At first reading, the words "the Word . . . foretold from the beginning," might seem to refer to the time after the fall; especially since St. Irenaeus also mentions liberation from sin. However, we shall see how he holds that the Word appeared to Adam in Paradise and instructed him in regard to His coming among men and conversing with them. The Doctor holds, therefore, that the Incarnate Word was willed by God as man's Liberator from the state of sin. But he also certainly holds that this Incarnate Word was willed as the necessary Mediator of man's perfection because man is a creature. Therefore He had already been willed from the beginning even before there was any sin.

#### CHRIST IS THE MEDIATOR OF MAN'S SUPERNATURAL KNOWLEDGE

St. Irenaeus insists that man cannot have a supernatural knowledge of God; namely, of the Father and the Son, unless God reveals Himself to man. With a touch of irony he writes:

The Lord, however, did not say that the Father and the Son could not be known at all; for then His coming would have been useless. For why did He come hither? Was it perhaps to tell us, "Don't look for God; He is unknown; you will not find Him," as the disciples of Valentinus falsely, and quite in vain, assert that Christ said to their aeons? The Lord taught us that no one can know God unless God teaches him; that is, without God, God cannot be known; on the other hand, [the Lord taught] that it is the will of the Father that God should be known. For all to whom the Son has revealed Him, know Him.<sup>38</sup>

The phrase "without God" he determines by saying man cannot know God *without the Son*, that is, unless the *Son* reveals Him. This he inculcates often.

But the Son, administering all things for the Father, works from the beginning even to the end; without Him no one can know God; for the Son is the knowledge of the Father; but the knowledge of the Son is in the Father and is revealed by the Son. For this reason the Lord said, "No one knows the Son except the Father; nor does anyone know the Father except the Son and him to whom the Son chooses to reveal Him" (Mt. 11:27). For "chooses to reveal" (*revelaverit*) was said not only for the future, as if the Word began to manifest the Father then when He was born of Mary; it was meant

37. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 20, n. 4 (P. G., 7, 1034).

38. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 6, n. 4 (P. G., 7, 988).

in general for all time. For the Son, being present with His handiwork from the beginning, reveals the Father to all whom the Father wills and when He wills and how He wills.<sup>39</sup>

It is, however, not the Word as such Who reveals the Father. He is naturally as invisible as the Father.<sup>40</sup> The Word Incarnate by His visible appearance among men reveals the Father.

And for this purpose the Father revealed the Son, that through Him [the Son] He might be manifested to all, and might receive into incorruption and everlasting rest those who believe in Him and are righteous. . . . The Father, therefore, has revealed Himself to all by making His Word visible to all; and, in turn, the Word, since He may be seen by all, has shown the Father and the Son to all.<sup>41</sup>

Irenaeus tells us expressly that we could not have learned the things of God except through the Incarnate Word. Someone might object that he tells us, more than once, that the Word revealed the Father even under the Old Dispensation; therefore, not as the Incarnate, but as the Eternal, Word.<sup>42</sup> This is true; but since, as we saw, he holds that the Word is naturally invisible, and that the Incarnate Word is necessary for us to learn of God, it seems that St. Irenaeus never considers the Word without any relation to the Incarnation as revealer of the Father. He always has in mind the Word that is to become man. This seems indicated plainly enough when he says that Moses had spoken with the Word on Mount Sinai, but he wanted to *see* Christ. He received a promise to that effect and it was literally fulfilled on the Mount of the Transfiguration.<sup>43</sup> Abraham too learned of the Incarnation of the Word, and longed to see the day of Christ that he might embrace Him. In the spirit of prophecy he saw it and rejoiced.<sup>44</sup>

By seeing Christ we see God. We also hear His voice. That leads us to believe in Him; and belief in Him brings salvation.<sup>45</sup> Thus we are gradually led to eternal life. St. Irenaeus likes the idea of the Word's becoming man to accustom man to see God: "[The

39. *Ibid.*, n. 7 (*P. G.*, 7, 990); cf. n. 3 (7, 987).

40. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 24, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 1050).

41. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 6, n. 5 (*P. G.*, 7, 989).

42. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 20, n. 11 (*P. G.*, 7, 1039); cf. lib. 3, c. 11, n. 8 (7, 888 *et seq.*).

43. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 20, n. 9 (*P. G.*, 7, 1038).

44. *Ibid.*, c. 7, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 990 *et seq.*).

45. *Ibid.*, c. 22, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 1047); cf. c. 33, n. 15 (7, 1083).

Word] became the Son of Man that He might accustom man to receive God, and God to dwell in man according to the good pleasure of the Father."<sup>46</sup> St. Irenaeus, however, carried this idea too far when he taught millenarianism; namely, that the saints would live with Christ on the earth after the resurrection to become accustomed to incorruption and to the glory of the Father.<sup>47</sup>

The Incarnate Word was, therefore, necessary to lead man gradually to the glorious vision of God. Was that necessity caused by the fall? Indeed, the fact that man had sinned would make it more impossible for him to know God; but this impossibility of man's knowing God, and consequently the necessity for God to reveal Himself through the Incarnation, is due to the fact that man is a creature. This we can gather easily from the texts quoted. Irenaeus never attributes this impossibility and necessity to man's sinful nature, but simply to the fact that the Father can be known only by the Son, and the Son can be known only by the Father. And this implies that only God can know God; a creature cannot. It is not because man is a sinner but because he is a creature that he must be led gradually to a perfect knowledge of God.

For in no other way could we have learned the things of God unless our Teacher, the Word, had become man. For no one else but His own Word could reveal to us the things of the Father. . . . Again, we could not have learned in any other way than by seeing our Teacher and hearing His voice with our own ears and thus, having become imitators of His works and doers of His words, we might have communion with Him, receiving increase from Him Who is perfect and Who is before all creation — we who were but recently created by the only good, even very best, Being.<sup>48</sup>

Now, if the Incarnation was necessary for men to know God supernaturally, the obvious conclusion is that God willed the Incarnation when He willed to create man and elevate him to this supernatural knowledge, not merely after the fall of Adam was foreseen. That is also the simple conclusion to be drawn from the repeated statement that the Word became man for the very purpose of accustoming man to see God and to dwell with Him so he would be able to receive the glory of the Father. That is the full meaning of the

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46. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 20, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 944).

47. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 32, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 1210); c. 35, n. 1 (7, 1218).

48. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 1, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 1014 *et seq.*).

assertion that the Word became man *in order that* the King of men might be seen by all:

... and His salvation, that is, His Word, He made visible to all flesh, Himself becoming incarnate, in order that their King might become manifest in all things. For it is proper that those who are judged should see their Judge and should know Him by Whom they are to be judged; and it is proper, too, that those who obtain glory should know Him Who bestows on them the gift of glory.<sup>49</sup>

The same is true of the following:

And for this reason He Who is incomprehensible (ἀχώρητος καὶ ἀκατάληπτος) and invisible, made Himself visible and comprehensible (καταλαμβάνόμενον καὶ χωρούμενον) to those who believe, that He might vivify those who receive and behold Him through faith. For, as His greatness is unsearchable, His goodness is ineffable, by virtue of which He is seen and bestows life on those who see Him. For to live without life is impossible; but the subsistence of life comes from participation with God; participation with God, however, is to know God and to enjoy His goodness.<sup>50</sup>

If any doubt of God's intention to be Mediator of man's knowledge through the Incarnation even from creation remains, this should vanish in the face of the clear statement that the Word promised Adam in Paradise that He would become man and live with him.

The garden was beautiful and good; the Word of God always took a walk in it and went around with, and conversed with, man about the future, presaging that He would become a partaker of [man's] nature and would speak with him and become the teacher of justice among men. But man was as yet a child without counsel, wherefore he was easily deceived by the seducer.<sup>51</sup>

There can be no doubt that St. Irenaeus is speaking of the Word Incarnate: He *will* become a partaker of *human nature*; He *will* converse with man. The Word as such is already conversing with Adam; there would be no sense in promising to do that. Moreover, this promise took place in the state of innocence: the garden was still beautiful and good; Adam had not yet been deceived. Consequently, even before the fall of Adam the Word informed him of the great

49. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 9, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 869).

50. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 20, n. 5 (*P. G.*, 7, 1035). For the last part of this the Greek has: 'Ὡς γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ ἀνεξίχνιαστον, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἀγαθότης αὐτοῦ ἀνεξήγητος, δι' ἧς βλέπομενος, ἐνδίδωσι [missing] τοῖς ὁρώσιν αὐτόν. Ἐπεὶ ζῆσαι ἀνευ ζωῆς οὐχ οὐδὲν τε ἔστιν.'

51. *Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae*, n. 12. L. Escoula, S. J., in "Le Verbe Sauveur et Illuminateur chez saint Irenée," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, LXVI (1939), 397, quotes this passage seemingly without suspecting that St. Irenaeus is speaking of the Incarnate Word.



privilege He would confer on man. He certainly did not mean that He would bestow so great a favor on man only if man would offend Him, without telling Adam about this condition.<sup>52</sup>

To see God in man's flesh, to believe in Him, to receive of His life and to be led to glory with Him — all this is a supernatural gift of God's immense kindness, "for, as His greatness is unsearchable, His goodness is ineffable, by virtue of which He is seen and bestows life on those who see Him."<sup>53</sup>

### CHRIST IS THE MEDIATOR OF ADOPTED SONSHIP, DEIFICATION, AND GLORY

Faith in Christ makes man just and permits him to share in the very life of God.<sup>54</sup> And the life of God in which man shares is the life of the Divine Son. Through the Incarnate Son of God man becomes an adopted son of God, by which he shares in the life of the natural Son of God.<sup>55</sup>

St. Irenaeus says repeatedly that the Son became man precisely *in order that* men might be sons of God; and he states that absolutely, as if sin had nothing to do with it.

... who promised by the Law and the Prophets that He would make His salvation visible to all flesh in order that He might become the Son of Man so that man also might become the son of God.<sup>56</sup>

The Son of God was made the Son of Man that through Him we might receive the adoption, in that man sustains and receives and embraces the Son of God.<sup>57</sup>

For the Word of God was made man, and He Who was the Son of God became the Son of Man for this end that man, having been united with the Word, might receive the adoption and become the son of God.<sup>58</sup>

It is true that at present the adoption is of those who are in the fallen state and necessarily, therefore, includes the removal of sin. But that does not force us to conclude that divine adoption through

52. Cf. "Franciscan Christology: Absolute and Universal Primacy of Christ," FRANCISCAN STUDIES, II (1942), 456 *et seq.*

53. *Adversus Haereses*, lib. 4, c. 20, n. 5 (*P. G.*, 7, 1036); cf. c. 6, n. 4 (7, 989); c. 7, n. 3 (7, 992).

54. *Ibid.*, lib. 5, c. 9, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 1144).

55. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 6, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 861); c. 20, n. 2 (7, 943); lib. 4, c. 21, n. 3 (7, 1045).

56. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 10, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 873).

57. *Ibid.*, c. 16, n. 3 (*P. G.*, 7, 922).

58. *Ibid.*, c. 19, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 939).

Christ was intended only after the fall. In fact, the opposite is true, because man was intended for divine adoption even before the fall; but adopted sonship needs, by divine will, the natural Sonship of Him Who is at the same time consubstantial with man, as we saw above. That is St. Irenaeus' thought also in this passage: "For in what way could we be partakers of the adopted sonship unless we have received through the Son communion with Himself; unless His Word, having been made flesh, had communicated with us."<sup>59</sup>

Sin has nothing to do with causing this necessity; it is a natural necessity for us as creatures. Therefore it seems certain that St. Irenaeus held that God from the very beginning had intended the Incarnate Word to be Mediator of our adoption as sons of God. And the Incarnation is part of the original plan of the universe.

St. Irenaeus criticizes the heretics for complaining against God because He did not make men gods from the beginning. He admits that God in His goodness does make men gods, but He does that only gradually; first men must pass through the state of nature and only then can they be endowed with immortality and incorruptibility, and thus be made after the image and likeness of God.

We, however, blame Him because we have not been made gods from the beginning, but first men, then at length gods; although God has acted thus out of His sheer goodness, lest anyone think Him envious or stingy. He declares, "I have said: You are gods, and all of you the sons of the Most High" (Ps. 81:6). Since we, however, could not sustain the power of the divinity, He adds, "But you like men shall die" (Ps. 81:7). Thus He referred both to the kindness of His gift and to our weakness, though we have free will. For according to His great kindness He endowed man well and made him like Himself in giving him free will; whereas according to His foreknowledge He knew the infirmity of men and its consequences; still according to [His] love and power, He will overcome the [infirm] nature of creatures. It is proper, however, first that nature should appear; then, that that which was mortal should be conquered and swallowed up by immortality, and the corruptible by incorruptibility, and that man, having received the knowledge of good and evil, should be made according to the image and likeness of God.<sup>60</sup>

Being sons of God and being gods is one and the same thing; we are gods precisely because we are sons of God.<sup>61</sup> For this deification of man the Incarnate Word's deified human nature is as necessary

59. *Ibid.*, c. 18, n. 7 (*P. G.*, 7, 937).

60. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 38, n. 4 (*P. G.*, 7, 1109).

61. *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 6, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 861).

as is the natural Sonship for the adopted sonship: "How can man pass into God, unless God has passed into man?"<sup>62</sup> This theme was one that St. Athanasius developed with especial beauty after St. Irenaeus.

It is a fact that Jesus is the Mediator of our glory at present. He will give us eternal, incorruptible life.<sup>63</sup> He will surround us with everlasting glory after the last judgment.<sup>64</sup> We shall see the Father in heaven *paternaliter* because the Spirit prepares us in the Son, and the Son will lead us to the Father, and the Father will give us incorruptibility and eternal life.<sup>65</sup> And this incorruptible life will include the glory of the body as well as of the soul. The glorified body of Christ will be the instrument of our glory: "[The Word was made flesh] that the paternal light might appear in the flesh of our Lord and might from His resplendent flesh come into us; and thus man, having been clothed with paternal light, might attain to incorruption."<sup>66</sup>

If Christ's glorified body acts as the instrument of our glory, and if we were destined to glory of the body from the very beginning, it is most tempting to think that Christ was intended as Mediator of our glory from the very beginning. And if we add to this St. Irenaeus' statements that Christ came for that purpose, and that he considered Christ necessary as Mediator of our perfection, which is glory, then it seems certain that, in the teaching of the Doctor, Christ was intended as Mediator of our glory from the very beginning, and that Christ was in the first picture of a glorious universe of Saints.

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62. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 33, n. 4 (*P. G.*, 7, 1074).

63. *Ibid.*, c. 14, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 1010).

64. *Ibid.*, lib. 1, c. 10, n. 1 (*P. G.*, 7, 551).

65. *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 20, n. 5 (*P. G.*, 7, 1035).

66. *Ibid.*, n. 2 (*P. G.*, 7, 1033).

## MARIGNOLLI AND THE DECLINE OF MEDIEVAL MISSIONS IN CHINA

EASTER of the present year marks the beginning of the seventh centenary of the first journey and first mission from Europe to the Far East — an epoch-making event in the history of geography, Catholic missions, and international relations, which can be compared only with the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus two and a half centuries later.

It was on Easter Day, April 16, 1245, that the Franciscan Friar John of Piano di Carpine, leaving Lyons, France, as special legate of the Pope, entered upon his remarkable overland journey of two and a half years which was to take him across Asia to the court of the Great Khan of the Mongols at Karakorum (Ho-lin) in central Mongolia, and thence back to Europe.

Having published elsewhere<sup>1</sup> some articles on John of Piano di Carpine and his Franciscan successors, the writer believes it is not out of place to commemorate the seventh centenary of this friar's pioneer journey by presenting an account, not of the first, but of the last and even less known phase of medieval missions in China.<sup>2</sup>

### I

At the papal court in Avignon, a most unusual embassy was welcomed with great pomp and ceremony by Pope Benedict XII in 1338. The embassy consisted of Andrew the Frank, special envoy of the Great Khan Toghan Timur, and fifteen companions; and the party had come all the way from Khanbaliq<sup>3</sup> in China, capital of the Mongol Empire, from which they had set out in 1336.

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1. "Marco Polo's Predecessors," *Catholic World*, August, 1934, pp. 578-585; "Marco Polo's Successors," *ibid.*, February, 1936, pp. 576-584; "The Beginnings of Christianity in the Far East," *New Review* (Calcutta), I (1935), 225-238; "Friar John of Montecorvino," *ibid.*, I, 428-441; "Archbishop John of Montecorvino," *ibid.*, I, 562-568; "China's First Martyrs," *Franciscan Herald* (Chicago), March, 1925, pp. 104-109; "Blessed Odoric, World Missionary," *ibid.*, April, 1931, pp. 153-156, 183; "Blessed Odoric in China," *ibid.*, May, 1931, pp. 201-203, 231-232; "John of Montecorvino and the Liturgy," *Orate Fratres* (St. Paul), July, 1928, pp. 274-280.

2. The study presented here will form two chapters of a book which the author expects to have ready for the seventh centenary of Friar John of Piano di Carpine's journey of 1245-1247.

3. Khanbaliq or Cambaluc, meaning "city of the ruler," subsequently called Peking and for a while Peiping, situated in northern China.



Andrew the Frank presented to the Supreme Pontiff a letter from the Great Khan, stating that he was sending this embassy to the Holy Father

for the purpose of opening the way for a frequent interchange of envoys between the Pope and us, and of asking the Pope to send his blessing to us, and to remember us always in his holy prayers. Also to recommend to him the Alans, our subjects, and his Christian children. Likewise that horses and other wonderful things be brought to us from the West.<sup>4</sup>

The envoys also gave to the Pope a letter from five Catholic Alan princes belonging to the court of the Great Khan, which ran as follows:

We wish to inform Your Holiness that for a long time past we were instructed in the Catholic Faith and wholesomely directed and very much consoled by your legate, Friar John, a capable, holy, and gifted man, who, alas, died eight years ago. Since then we have been without a spiritual head and without spiritual consolation. We have heard, indeed, that you sent us another legate, but he has not yet arrived.

For this reason we beg Your Wisdom to send us a good, able, and wise legate who will care for our souls, and ask you to have him come quickly.

We request Your Wisdom to reply graciously to our lord the Emperor, that in accordance with his request the way may be opened for an expeditious, suitable, and frequent interchange of envoys, and that mutual friendly relations may be established.

For, if you do this, much good will be attained for the salvation of souls and the exaltation of the Christian Faith, since his favor can achieve countless good results throughout his empire, whereas his displeasure can cause countless adverse conditions. And, therefore, please recommend to him ourselves who are your children and brethren, as well as all the other faithful who are in his empire.<sup>5</sup>

Never before had such an embassy from the Far East come to do homage to the Father of Christendom. Pope Benedict XII assured the Mongol envoys that he would send an equally illustrious legation to the court of the Great Khan, and that his representatives would accompany them on their return journey to Khanbaliq.

Meanwhile, he gave them a letter addressed to King Philip VI, and in the month of June (1338) they went to Paris and paid their

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4. P. Anastasius Van den Wyngaert, O. F. M., *Sinica Franciscana*, I (Quaracchi, 1929), LXXXIII. Since this excellently edited source book contains all the documents of importance on which the present study is based, it will not be necessary to add numerous footnotes and a bibliography. There is a comprehensive bibliography in *Sinica Franciscana*, I, XXV-XLII.

5. *Sinica Franciscana*, I, LXXXIII.

respects to the French monarch. In his letter to the king, Benedict XII described the reception he had accorded to the Mongol envoys and indicated what kind of reply he intended to send to the Great Khan.

From the letter of the Alan princes it is evident that the successor of Archbishop John of Montecorvino had not yet reached Khanbaliq when the embassy departed from that capital in 1336. Pope John XXII had appointed as successor the Franciscan Friar Nicholas (of Botras?) on September 18, 1333; and the following year, the new Archbishop, accompanied by twenty-six confrères (twenty priests and six lay brothers), had set out for China.

It is known that the Archbishop reached Almaligh in western China.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, further details concerning Archbishop Nicholas have not been recorded. We do not even know whether he survived the journey of fifty-four days from Almaligh to Khanbaliq. On the other hand, the absence of definite information does not warrant the conclusion that he never reached the city of the Great Khan.

It is not correct, therefore, to say, as is sometimes stated or intimated, that the medieval missions of China commenced to decline after the death of Archbishop John of Montecorvino in 1328. Friar John of Cora, O. P., who was at Khanbaliq at this time, reported that Bishop Peter of Florence, since 1326 fourth bishop of Zaitun,<sup>7</sup> administered the archdiocese until a new archbishop should arrive.

When the Great Khan's envoys appeared at Avignon in 1338, Benedict XII at once took steps to answer their request for a papal legation. The man whom he chose to head this important mission was Friar John of Marignolli, a lector of theology at the famous Franciscan school of Bologna. This papal legate to China is the last of the great Franciscan missionary travelers of the fourteenth century who has left an account of his journeys — a very valuable account which was incorporated in the form of asides and digressions in his *Chronica Boemorum*.<sup>8</sup>

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6. Almaligh or Almalik or Almalek, now no longer on the map, was situated a little to the northeast of Ili or Kudlja in the Chinese province of Sinkiang, also called Chinese Turkestan. This city was the seat of a suffragan diocese belonging to the ecclesiastical province of Khanbaliq. Its first bishop was the Franciscan Bishop Carlinus of Grassi, who died in Europe in 1328.

7. Zaitun is the modern Tsean-chow in Fukien province, southeastern China. The suffragan see of Zaitun was established by Archbishop Montecorvino about 1309.

8. Pertinent parts of the *Chronica Boemorum* are given in *Sinica Franciscana*, I, 524-560.

Born at Florence about the last decade of the thirteenth century, John of Marignolli received the Franciscan habit in his native city at the friary of Santa Croce. Called to Avignon in 1338, he was placed in charge of the most impressive legation and the largest single group of missionaries which the Holy See sent into the Mongol Empire. Among those who accompanied him were Friar Nicholas of Molano, and Friar Gregory of Hungary, and fifty or more other friars. The chronicler John of Winterthur (Vitoduranus) writes that there were fifty friars in the party; while another chronicler, Hermannus, (in his *Flores Temporum*), says that there were one hundred friars. Perhaps additional friars were added to those originally appointed.

In December, 1338, Friar John of Marignolli left Avignon, and with his large company of missionaries repaired to Naples, where the embassy from the Great Khan was to join him. Leaving Paris, the Mongol ambassadors went to northern Italy, and at Genoa boarded a vessel which took them to Naples.

Together the papal and Mongol envoys then (1339) entered upon the long and hazardous journey to the Far East. Sailing the Mediterranean they came to Constantinople, whence they embarked on June 24 and made another voyage of eight days on the Black Sea to Caffa (Feodosia) on the Crimean peninsula. By way of Tana (Azov) probably, they proceeded to Sarai<sup>9</sup> where Usbek, the Khan of Kipchak, resided. To this Khan, as well as to his oldest son, Isanibeg, who is described as the protector of the Friars Minor in Kipchak, Friar John of Marignolli presented letters from the Pope. There was a letter also for Friar Elias of Hungary, intimate friend of Usbek's son, in which the Pope asked the missionary to communicate to the Pope whatever pertained to the problems and progress of the Church in that khanate, and to assure the good prince of the friendliness of the Holy See.

After the winter had passed (hence in the spring of 1340) Friar John of Marignolli made the long overland journey from Sarai to Almalygh on the western border of China. For the Khan of the latter city the papal legate likewise had a letter in which the Pope expressed

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9. Sarai, situated on the Aktuba River, parallel tributary of the Volga, north of the Caspian Sea, was the capital of the Mongol khanate of Kipchak or the Golden Horde in southern Russia.

his appreciation for the hospitality which had been extended to Archbishop Nicholas, Montecorvino's successor, when he tarried there on his way to Khanbalik. But this Khan had been succeeded during the preceding year by a Saracen usurper, who had also destroyed the mission of Almaligh and delivered its missionaries to a cruel death, thus giving to China its first martyrs — Bishop Richard of Burgundy and his companions. The usurper, however, was dethroned shortly afterward, and the Khan who now held the reins of government in the khanate of Chagatai<sup>10</sup> was not hostile to the Church. Friar John of Marignolli remained at Almaligh for an entire year and reestablished the mission. "We built a church," he writes, "purchased some property, dug wells, sang Masses, baptized many converts, and preached freely and publicly."<sup>11</sup> When Marignolli resumed his journey toward the end of 1341, he no doubt left at Almaligh some of the friars who had come with him, to continue the missionary work he had begun anew.

By way of the Gobi desert the papal legate with his other companions then went on to Khanbaliq. They were received with great solemnity and cordiality by the Great Khan Toghan Timur (Shenti).

I was dressed in festive vestments [writes Friar John of Marignolli], and those who preceded me carried a beautiful cross and lights and incense; and singing *Credo in unum Deum*, we entered into the presence of the Great Khan, who resides in a magnificent palace. And after the singing ended, I gave him a solemn blessing, which he received humbly.<sup>12</sup>

For almost four years (1342-1346) Friar John and some companions were the guests of the Great Khan.

We were lodged [writes Friar John] in the imperial apartment which had been carefully prepared for us; and two princes were assigned to the task of providing us with all we needed, such as food, drink, and even paper for our lanterns. And officers and servants of the court thus ministered to us for about four years, always with marks of profound respect.<sup>13</sup>

During his sojourn in the capital, Friar John participated in the missionary work which the friars were carrying on with great success at Khanbaliq. He tells us that he had frequent discussions with Jews

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10. The Mongol khanate of Chagatai comprised not only central Asia, or what is now Russian Turkestan, but also the province of Sinkiang in western China; in fact, the capital of the khanate was Almaligh which was situated near Ili in Sinkiang.

11. *Sinica Franciscana*, I, LXXXV.

12. *Ibid.*, I, LXXVI.

13. *Ibid.*



and adherents of other sects, and that these discussions bore much spiritual fruit. His efforts were rewarded with "a great harvest of souls." The Alans, who numbered thirty thousand and occupied the highest positions of trust in the empire, writes Marignolli, were all Christians and declared themselves to be the slaves of the Pope.

Though Marignolli does not expressly say that Archbishop Nicholas, the successor of Montecorvino, was at the capital, he informs us that the cathedral and episcopal residence were near the imperial palace; and he adds that there were several other churches in the city. Montecorvino's second little church, therefore, which he built near the palace, must have been enlarged; and some additional churches must have been erected. In 1318, Bishop Peregrin of Castello, one of those who had been sent to help Archbishop Montecorvino, mentioned that there were three; in 1342, there were at least four.

Marignolli had come to Khanbaliq as papal legate. He returned to Europe with the additional dignity of special envoy of the Great Khan to the Pope. When he left the capital in 1346, Toghan Timur gave him precious gifts for the Supreme Pontiff and supplied him with a splendid retinue and two hundred horses.

After touring various cities of China and being honored everywhere as the Great Khan's representative, he finally reached Zaitun in southeastern China, another flourishing mission and suffragan see, where the two churches of 1324 mentioned by Blessed Odoric of Pordenone, had increased to three, "very beautiful, well constructed, and richly decorated, with very fine and toneful bells — all this in the midst of Saracens."<sup>14</sup> Embarking from Zaitun on the day after Christmas, probably in 1347, he made the long voyage to India, reaching Quilon at the end of March, 1348. Here and in the vicinity he remained for sixteen months, till the end of July, 1349. He sojourned in India, therefore, for a longer period than Montecorvino, who had stayed about a year. He also visited Madras and the Church of St. Thomas (as did Montecorvino), and thence apparently sailed to Sumatra and returned to Malabar. Setting sail once more, his ship was driven by a storm on the island of Ceylon at Barberyn, where unfortunately he was despoiled of most of the Great Khan's gifts intended for the Pope. Finally he reached Ormuz, and con-

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14. *Ibid.*, I, LXXXVII.

tinuing his journey through the ilkhanate of Persia, he visited among other places the ruins of Babylon and the cities of Bagdad, Mossul, Edessa, Damascus, and Jerusalem. Arriving in his native country after an absence of thirteen years, he probably went first to Florence, and then to Avignon. He had departed from that city in 1338; it was now 1352.

To Pope Innocent VI he presented some gifts and a letter from the Great Khan, and the following year he submitted his formal report. The Pope rewarded him a year later by making him Bishop of Bisignano, May 12, 1354. Shortly after his consecration, Bishop John of Marignolli left Avignon for Florence. About the same time Charles IV, King of Bohemia, was crowned Emperor; and hearing of Bishop Marignolli and his extraordinary travels throughout the then-known world, the Emperor offered him the offices of councillor, chaplain, and chronicler. Bishop Marignolli accepted, and so it happened that posterity received an account of his travels, scattered though it is in various places of the *Chronica Boemorum*.

In 1356 the people of Florence invited Bishop Marignolli to smooth out their difficulties with Malatesta, and for this purpose he went once more to Avignon. In the following year a similar mission took him to Bologna. Toward the end of his life Bishop Marignolli became involved in the controversy between the Primate of Ireland, Richard Fitzralph, and the Friars Minor, and received a scathing letter from the Primate. In time the Primate was summoned to Avignon; and when the matter was examined, he was enjoined to cease his attacks and to respect the privileges granted to the Friars Minor by the Holy See.

The exact date of Bishop Marignolli's death is unknown. It must have occurred in 1358 or 1359, since on March 22, 1359, Savelli was made Bishop of Bisignano. In the church of Santa Croce in Florence, where he was vested with the Franciscan habit, this last of the great medieval travelers was honored, in 1898, by the erection of a tablet.

## II

After the papal legate had presented his report to Innocent VI in 1353, the Pope addressed a letter to the Franciscan General Chapter held at Assisi on June 1, 1354, asking the order to select some friars

for the vicarate of Cathay<sup>15</sup> and promising to consecrate some of them bishops. Whether or not this request was answered, we do not know. Perhaps the high mortality caused by the Black Plague, which had ravaged Europe in 1348, made it impossible for the order to release missionaries for the Far East at this time. This terrible plague had depopulated entire Franciscan friaries and carried away two-thirds of the order's total membership.<sup>16</sup>

Not many years later a Friar James was consecrated Bishop of Zaitun in China and set out for the Orient with Friar William of Campania; but while traveling in Turkestan they were both put to death by Mohammedans in 1362. About the same time two other unnamed friars likewise perished in Turkestan at the hands of Nestorians; and these, too, seem to have been on the way to China. Missionaries were, therefore, still being sent to the Far East. We are justified in concluding that Khanbaliq had its resident archbishop at the time Bishop James of Zaitun was sent to China. For the Holy See would hardly appoint a bishop for that suffragan diocese while the metropolitan see was vacant, without creating an archbishop of Khanbaliq at the same time.

By 1369, however, the Archbishop must have died; for, in that year Pope Urban V promoted Bishop Cosmas of Sarai to the archdiocese of Khanbaliq. Before this appointment could be carried out, the Pope revoked it on March 1, 1370, and ten days later gave the see to Friar William du Prat, a French Franciscan and a master of theology. He was authorized to take along some other masters and twelve additional friars. The number of these companions seems to have been increased afterward, since the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*

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15. The term "vicarate" is used designedly to distinguish such units from the modern vicariates apostolic. In the Middle Ages most of the Franciscan missions which were scattered throughout the then-known non-Catholic world were organized into seven vicarates and the Custody of the Holy Land (the latter existing since 1377). Of these vicarates three were in the Mongol Empire: (1) North Tataria or the khanate of Kipchak (southern Russia); (2) East Tataria, including Persia, Armenia, and Georgia; and (3) Cathay, including the rest of Asia, especially China. The four other vicarates were those of (1) Bosnia, (2) Russia, (3) Morocco or northern Africa, and (4) the Canary Islands (the latter existing since 1423).

16. According to the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* (the first twenty-four Ministers General of the Order of Friars Minor), printed in *Analecta Franciscana*, III (Quaracchi, 1897), no missionaries were sent at this time because of the negligence of those who were entrusted with the task of selecting new recruits. However, the Black Plague and the consequent lack of friars, rather than "negligence," appears to have been the real reason why none were sent to Cathay — if indeed none were sent.

states that sixty friars were associated with Archbishop William du Prat. To the new Archbishop, the Pope granted ample faculties, among them that of appointing a Vicar of Cathay. He also supplied him with letters for the various khans and mission centers in the Mongol Empire.

Did this numerous band of missionaries depart for China and reach their destination? We have no records giving the answer; but the lack of any document expressly stating that these missionaries went to Cathay does not prove that the whole party remained in Europe.

The appointments of 1370, however, seem to have been the last serious effort of which we possess documentary evidence, made in the Middle Ages to send missionaries to China. The two groups of missionaries who were sent out in 1371 and 1391 were not assigned to China but to the "Vicaria Aquilonaris," or the khanate of Kipchak, as is evident from the pertinent papal bulls (December 30, 1371, and November 8, 1392). The first of these contingents included Friar Francis of Puy and twelve other Franciscans; and the second, Friars Roger of England and Ambrose of Siena, with twenty-four fellow missionaries.

By 1397, it is generally held, Zaitun had become a titular see. Hence the Servite, John of Verona, who was appointed Bishop of Zaitun on April 12, 1397, by Pope Boniface IX, was only a titular bishop; and the historian of the Servites, Berardo Sostegno, is mistaken when he infers that this order had charge of a mission in China at the end of the fourteenth century. Titular archbishops of Khanbaliq continued to be named until 1475.<sup>17</sup>

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17. A Friar Dominic, O. F. M., was appointed Archbishop of Khanbaliq in 1403, but seems to have been unable to reach China. In 1410, Archbishop John, O. P., of Soltanieh in Persia, was named administrator of the archdiocese of Khanbaliq; however, after the destructive conquests of Tamerlane (d. 1405) in Persia and the adjoining countries, not even the missions of the archdiocese of Soltanieh can have existed at this time. The three subsequent archbishops of Khanbaliq, according to Fr. Lemmens (*Die Heidenmissionen des Spätmittelalters*, Muenster i. W., 1919), were titular archbishops. Their names and dates of appointment were as follows: (1) Archbishop Bartholomew Capponi, 1448; (2) Archbishop John of Pelletz, 1456; (3) Archbishop Alexander of Caffa, 1475. The last-mentioned was a Franciscan, and apparently the other two were also Franciscans. Archbishop Alexander of Caffa, O. F. M., was taken a prisoner by the Turks and, after a captivity of seven years, was sent to Italy, where he soon died. Can it be that, contrary to the opinion of most historians, Archbishop Alexander and the others were not titular archbishops after all, and that the last one appointed actually attempted to pass through the Ottoman Empire and to reach China?



Why were no more missionaries sent to China after 1370? As early as 1351 the native Chinese set on foot a revolution against their Mongol conquerors, which in 1368 led to the downfall of the Mongol dynasty in China proper, and the accession of the Ming dynasty (which ruled China till 1644). To this political upheaval writers have generally ascribed the ruin of the early Franciscan missions in China, though it was only one of the factors that contributed to their decline.

Perhaps the news of the overthrow of the favorable Mongol dynasty caused Archbishop William du Prat and his companions to desist from undertaking the arduous and hazardous journey to far-away Cathay, or to return home after entering upon it. This is merely a conjecture which appears plausible to some; but there is no evidence to show that it is a fact. Ordinarily missionaries are not deterred from entering a country by a change of government, even if it puts them at a disadvantage.

When the Mongol dynasty fell, it is true, the Mongols who were in and near Khanbaliq or Peking fled to the north and the west. Father John Ricci, O. F. M., is of the opinion that the Catholics of Peking, among whom were many Alans and probably also Mongols, betook themselves to Sarai, capital of Kipchak and the seat of a suffragan see of Khanbaliq, situated on the Aktuba River in what is now southern Russia.

But most of the native Chinese Catholics, if not all, remained with their countrymen in China proper; and we may be sure that the missionaries who were in the field did not forsake them. There is no evidence that the Ming dynasty, after it gained the ascendancy, instituted a persecution of the Christians or their missionaries. At any rate, the Nestorians in China are known to have remained unmolested until the sixteenth century, when a general persecution instigated by the Saracens caused them to be scattered or extirpated; and it is not improbable that the Catholic converts of the early Franciscan missionaries fared in the same manner.

Revolutions are usually engineered by a minority, even when they are successful. There was no reason why the people of China should be hostile to the Franciscan friars who had come to them while the Mongols were in control. For that matter, they had not fared so badly under the Great Khans. Under Kublai Khan (1259-

1294), "China was never more illustrious or powerful." And the Great Khan Aiyuli Palipata or Jin-tsung (1311-1320), one of those who showed himself friendly to Archbishop John of Montecorvino, "endeavored to blend the two races, and admitted many Chinese to official positions."

Even if there had been a persecution under Hung Wu, the first of the Ming emperors (1368-1398),<sup>18</sup> it would not have stopped the missionaries from remaining at their posts, any more than the several persecutions under the Ta-tsing or Manchu dynasty (1644-1912) prevented the missionaries who were in China, and succeeded in entering China, from continuing their work in secret. The difference was that during the earlier period no new missionaries were on hand to take the place of those who passed to their reward.

There are not a few indications that the medieval missions in China lingered on for many years after 1368. In that year the friars in China were far more numerous than in Montecorvino's day. With Marignolli alone, who sojourned in China from 1340 to 1347, at least fifty friars, perhaps even a hundred, had come from Europe; and there is hardly any doubt that most of these remained in the vicariate of Cathay when Marignolli returned. Nor does any document or chronicle say that a single friar went back to Europe after the downfall of the Mongol dynasty. The grave of a Franciscan bishop of 1387 was discovered at Lintsing-chow in Shantung at the end of the nineteenth century; and in the sepulcher was found a little bronze box containing an episcopal ring and a pectoral cross bearing the Franciscan coat of arms.<sup>19</sup> In 1384, according to statistics of the order, there were three Franciscan custodies in the vicarate of Cathay with a total of nine establishments; and in 1390 three Franciscan friaries are mentioned as being situated in China. If Mendez Pinto's report of about 1541 is correct, Matthew Escandel, probably a Franciscan from Jerusalem, was stoned to death by jealous bonzes in the province of Shantung about 1400.<sup>20</sup> And even after the last of the

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18. D. C. Boulger (*Short History of China*, New York and London, 1904) represents Hung Wu as having been a very good emperor, solicitous for the orphans, the sick, the aged, and merciful to his enemies, even the Mongols, who fell into his hands.

19. Girolamo Golubovich, O. F. M., *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, III (Quaracchi, 1919), 394.

20. Leonard Lemmens, O. F. M., *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen* (Muenster i. W., 1929), p. 92.

Franciscans who were in China had died, the converts of the friars very probably for a long time persevered in the practice of their holy religion as best as they could, and instructed their children in Christian doctrine, as happened in Japan during the modern period.

It is not correct to say, therefore, that the early Franciscan missions of China came to an abrupt end with the accession of the Ming dynasty. There was a gradual decline which finally resulted in the cessation of missionary work; and the principal reason for this was the lack of new recruits to take the place of the older missionaries when they died.

The lack of new recruits, in turn, was due to the fact that it became impossible for missionaries to make the long journey from Europe to China. From the very beginning many of the friars who set out for China failed to reach their destination because they perished on the way. The dangers and obstacles which they encountered included the hardships of primitive ways of travel on land, the insecurity of the ships by which they crossed the seas, the attacks of pirates and robbers, and, above all, the relentless opposition of the Saracens or Mohammedans who were dispersed throughout Asia. Now, after 1368, on the one hand, the Moslem menace was far greater; and, on the other, the Mongol khans were no longer able to offer protection and assistance to the traveling missionary. Not only were the Mongols ousted from China, but they also lost control of their khanates in the rest of Asia, while the Saracens gained the upper hand. The result was constant war and the gradual breaking-up of the khanates.

Furthermore, the conquests of the Turks and the rise of the Ottoman Empire in western Asia and eastern Europe effectively closed the routes to the Far East as far as the missionaries were concerned. For the Turks were fanatical adherents of Islam, the successors in the modern era of the medieval Saracens, just as the Ottoman Empire supplanted the former Arabian Empire.

Under Tamerlane, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, the Mongols succeeded once more in getting the upper hand in western Asia; but that was only a temporary check on the steady advance of the Turks, which reached its climax in the fall of Constantinople and the end of the Byzantine Empire, 1453. Tamerlane resembled Genghiz khan rather than the other Mongol khans; and

his conquests directly caused the ruin of most of the missions in the western part of Asia and southern Russia.<sup>21</sup>

The writer is aware of the point which Professor A. H. Lybyer makes, namely that trade was diverted from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope route because of cheap freight rates, and not because the Turks cut the old lines of communication to the Far East. Speaking of the Turks, Lybyer writes: "They were not active agents in deliberately obstructing the routes. . . . Nor did they make the discovery of new routes imperative. On the contrary, they lost by the discovery of a new and superior route."<sup>22</sup> But Professor Lybyer has in mind the trade routes and commercial travelers, not Catholic missionaries. The merchant might get through, but the missionary had little chance of penetrating the wall of fanatical Moslem Turks which separated Asia from Europe.

Even if the missionary had reached the confines of China, he would have found it a very difficult task to enter the country after the Ming dynasty had been ruling China for some time, for the Ming emperors eventually adopted a policy of complete isolation from

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21. In the western part of the Mongol Empire there were thirteen dioceses and one archdiocese. Thus, with the archdiocese of Khanbaliq and its two suffragan sees in China (Almaligh and Zaitun), the total number of bishoprics established in this vast empire was seventeen. All of these consisted of Franciscan and Dominican missions.

Of the dioceses in the western part of the empire, four were likewise under the Archbishop of Khanbaliq (Peking, China): (1) Kumuk, in the Caspian Mountains, established in the second half of the fourteenth century; (2) Sarai, north of the Caspian Sea, where there was a Franciscan friary as early as 1287; (3) Tana (Azov), at the mouth of the Don River; (4) Caffa (Feodosia), on the Crimean Peninsula—all of them Franciscan missions. Of these only Caffa survived the destructive invasions of Tamerlane's hordes, Sarai being destroyed in 1394, and Tana being stormed by Tamerlane's forces in 1395 and by other khans of Kipchak in 1410 and 1418. Attempts were made to restore these missions, for instance, when Friar Ambrose Scipio, O. F. M., was appointed Bishop of Kumuk in 1421; but these attempts were not very successful. The Caffa diocese came to an end when the Turks took this city in 1475.

The nine other dioceses were under the Archbishop of Soltanieh in Persia, this see having been created in 1318. Its suffragan dioceses included three in Persia, two in Armenia, two in Georgia, one (Meshed) in Khorassan, and one (Quilon) in India. The missionaries in this territory included Franciscans as well as Dominicans, but the bishops were taken from the ranks of the Dominicans. After the Black Plague had greatly reduced the number of missionaries in these parts, Tamerlane dealt them a deathblow when he invaded Persia in 1380 and established his great, though short-lived, khanate in western Asia. Cf. Lemmens, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*, pp. 55-56, 83-84, and *Heidenmissionen des Spätmittelalters*; also Berthold Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Habelschwerdt, 1924).

22. Lybyer's article, entitled "The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade," appeared in *The English Historical Review*, XXX, 577-588.



Europe. In the sixteenth century (after the Cape of Good Hope route had been discovered by the Portuguese, and the Pacific route from Mexico to the Philippines had been opened by the Spaniards), members of various religious orders made numerous but fruitless attempts to reenter China. It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Jesuit Father Ricci was able to establish himself at the Chinese court.

When the first missionaries of the modern period refounded Catholic missions in China, some few traces of the early Franciscan missions were discovered. Though it has been said: "Everything perished with them, and we are not left a single account, document, stone, or trace whatsoever of their apostolic work," this statement is too sweeping. The following traces of the early missions have been found in modern times.

(1) About two decades ago Monnier found an iron for baking hosts, and a pyx in the temple of Erden Tso at Karakorum in Mongolia. They are probably the ones which the jeweler, Master William, made for Friar William Rubruk when he was in Karakorum at Easter time, 1254. The faithful at this capital requested Friar William to celebrate the feast of Easter with them, to give them an opportunity of fulfilling their religious obligations. Friar William himself writes: "Master William had made for us an iron for baking hosts and a silver pyx for preserving the Body of Christ." Incidentally, this is proof that Friar William Rubruk celebrated the Holy Sacrifice in the heart of Mongolia in the year 1254.<sup>23</sup>

(2) Father Couplet, S. J., found a Bible in China which appears to have been one of those used by the early Franciscan missionaries in that country. This Bible is now preserved in the Laurentian Library in Florence, Italy.<sup>24</sup>

(3) Friar Anthony Caballero, O. F. M., missionary in China from 1633 to 1669, and the founder of modern Franciscan missions in that country, China, personally found an old temple on a hill at Fo-uin-cheu near the seashore, in the southeastern province of Fukien, which apparently had been a Catholic church at one time. It had a high altar on which there were three statues, one of which represented our

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23. *Sinica Franciscana*, I, LXXXIX.

24. *Ibid.*

Saviour holding a small globe surmounted by a cross. On a side altar, to the right, was a statue of Our Lady of Mercy, spreading her mantle over small figures to her right and left, one of which held a small gilded cross.<sup>25</sup>

(4) Friar Anthony Caballero also reported that the Franciscan church at Zin-cheu in the province of Shantung, northern China, possessed two paintings on linen, one of our Lord and the other of the Blessed Virgin, which had been in a pagan temple. "Friar Bernard of the Incarnation," wrote Friar Anthony, "told me that Friar Didacus of St. Rose received them from a bonze who said that they were in his temple for a long time past — how long and whence and how, he did not know."<sup>26</sup>

(5) Three additional crosses besides those which were found by Friar Anthony Caballero are mentioned by A. C. Moule.<sup>27</sup>

(6) According to Trigault, a Jew told the Jesuits who entered China at the close of the sixteenth century that sixty years previously Christians living in the provinces of Shantung and Shansi especially, had been dispersed in all directions. Father Ricci sent a Brother to these provinces to make inquiries, but the Brother found no corroborating evidence. Trigault believes the Brother may have been regarded as a government spy and hence was not permitted to ascertain the facts. Perhaps these Christians were Nestorians. In point of fact, Nestorian Christianity practically ceased to exist in China about 1543 in consequence of a persecution started by Mussulmans.<sup>28</sup>

(7) Father Peter Mertens, S. J., writes that in the center of the Vicariate of Sienshien there was "a hidden nucleus of old Christians who had been converted two or three hundred years ago, perhaps even at the time of the Franciscan missions of the thirteenth century."<sup>29</sup>

(8) Less than two decades ago, a missionary came upon a group of Chinese whose forbears, he thought, had been converted centuries

25. *Ibid.*, I, xc.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Lemmens, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*, p. 92, refers to Nikolaus Trigautius, S. J., *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu* (Augsburg, 1615), p. 127.

29. Lemmens, *ibid.*, p. 92, with a reference to Peter Mertens, S. J., *La Légende dorée en Chine* (Paris, 1920), p. 212.

before. The settlement had faithfully persevered in the Catholic Faith to the present day.<sup>30</sup>

We wish to take exception, finally, to the statement frequently made and frequently accepted as correct, that the early missions in China were a complete failure. Even though the Catholic religion was not permanently established in China as a result of the early missionaries' work, that work was not in vain for the many thousands of persons who were converted at the time. While the medieval missions in China lasted, they were eminently successful. They were no more a failure than many other flourishing missions which eventually came to naught for reasons beyond the control of the missionaries — for instance, the Franciscan missions of California, whose span of life was about a half century.

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30. Lemmens, *ibid.*, p. 92, who cites the *Bulletin Catholique de Peking*, XIV (Peking, 1927), 245-253.

## IN PROPRIA CAUSA

### A Reply to Professor Pegis' "Concerning William of Ockham" (*Traditio*, II [1944], 465-480)

PROFESSOR ANTON PEGIS in a recent article has leveled serious objections against my interpretation of Ockham as laid down in several publications. His criticism mainly concerns my article, "The Notitia Intuitiva of Non-existents according to William Ockham," which appeared in *Traditio*, I (1943), 223-275. Since my answer to these objections could have appeared in the same periodical only after the lapse of an entire year,<sup>1</sup> I gratefully accept the offer of the editors of *Franciscan Studies* to present my comment here. This will concern, first, the main issues; and, secondly, minor details.

#### I. MAIN ISSUES

Professor Pegis states that I have raised "three distinct issues in the interpretation of Ockham, all related in different ways to the problem of his skepticism." To these he adds a fourth.

(I) Is Ockham's use of the doctrine of the divine omnipotence open to the charge of skepticism?

(II) Does not Ockham's inability to prove the liberty and the omnipotence of God, against Greek and Arabian philosophers, suppose the natural impotence of the human reason to disprove the errors of the philosophers and therefore the *substitutional* use of faith against them?

(III) There is also the particular issue, raised by Father Boehner's defense of the Ockhamistic doctrine of intuitive knowledge against Gilson's interpretation of it as in principle skeptical.

(IV) I should like to add, finally, that the problem of interpreting Ockham, as Father Boehner has shaped it, is not so much *whether* Ockham is a skeptic but *when* a philosopher may be so called (p. 465).

Of these four distinct issues, Professor Pegis has devoted about four pages (465-469) to the first two, about ten pages (469-479) to the third, and only one page to the last. Accordingly, I shall answer only the third in extenso.

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1. The editors of *Traditio* regret in their note to Professor Pegis' article that it has not been possible because of technical difficulties beyond their control to include my reply in the same number. My correspondence with the editors has convinced me of their sincerity.



## AD I

Doctor Pegis' discussion of this issue moves only in generalities, reiterating what he has said before. But the repetition of statements does not contribute in any way to their truth. He imputes to me that I accept Baudry's interpretation of the meaning of Ockham's philosophy. Now I am the one most competent to judge of that and, as far as I know my own mind, I can only state that I do not accept the views of this excellent Ockhamistic scholar *in toto*;<sup>2</sup> certainly not as to the particular interpretation of Ockham's philosophy "as a philosophy of divine omnipotence." Hence I am happy to agree with Professor Pegis:

But it is not at all clear that this doctrine of omnipotence was, in fact, the starting point of Ockham's philosophical activity (p. 466).

If Ockham used his *theological* principle of omnipotence in order to prove philosophical propositions, then I would consider it a serious confusion; and then at least the charge of theologism or fideism would be true, and probably the charge of skepticism also. However, my firm conviction, based on an intensive study of Ockham's texts themselves, is that Ockham *in praxi* very often (in fact, always where the opportunity is given) makes the distinction between a philosophical truth and a theological truth (including a theological conclusion) more apparent than St. Thomas. In theory, I believe, all Scholastics are equally clear as to the distinction between philosophy and theology.

## AD II

Unfortunately the discussion concerning the second issue also moves in generalities, and hence it is useless to discuss it, except to present a few clarifications.

(1) I emphatically deny the truth of this statement made by Professor Pegis:

In principle, Father Boehner is contesting the Thomistic ideal of an autonomous philosophy which could refute the errors of the philosophers on its own ground and with the light of reason (p. 468).

I do not remember having ever contested this Thomistic ideal, nor have I ever intended to do so even in principle. In addition, I

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2. My own copy of Baudry's work shows at least eight question marks in the margin, made as early as four years ago.

have never contested the following statement of Professor Pegis, though I do contend that it is specifically Thomistic, and not Scotistic or Ockhamistic:

It cannot be stressed too much that Thomism in the thirteenth century meant an attitude which insisted that truth, philosophy and demonstration were on the same side of the dispute between Hellenism and Christianity, and not at all opponent (p. 468).

I agree, provided, of course, that we take "philosophy" as the ideal of a system of true statements only, and that Professor Pegis, as a good Aristotelian, takes "demonstration" in the technical Aristotelian sense as a necessary inference from necessary propositions to a necessary conclusion. I would really be grateful to be informed where I have denied that.

Several times I have pointed out how important is the difference between "demonstration" in the strict sense and the more general term "proof" and "persuasio" — at least when reading Scotus and Ockham. "Persuasio" is a natural reason, and in this sense, a proof which convinces a man of good will; but it is not invulnerable against the logical subtleties of the "protervus," who so often makes his appearance in Ockham's writings. Hence, in my opinion, "persuasio" comes pretty close to what neo-Scholastics call "moral certitude." This disposes of the following remark of Professor Pegis:

But Ockham, whom Father Boehner defends, accepts the divine omnipotence as a doctrine which he is powerless to prove against the necessitarianism of the philosophers (p. 468).

If "to prove" means "to demonstrate," Ockham agrees; if it means "persuasiones," Ockham denies it.

(2) Professor Pegis writes:

His [that is my own] view of the Thomistic ideal, and particularly his willingness to follow Ockham in conceding that the errors of the philosophers were not philosophically refutable, is as old as St. Bonaventure's observation that the philosopher *must* fall into some error unless he is aided by the light of faith: "necesse est enim philosophantem in aliquem errorem labi nisi adiuvetur per radium fidei" (p. 468).

This is a relief. For from now on I am in the company of the Seraphic Doctor and, as I shall show, in the company of another illustrious champion of Christian philosophy. The first part of this quotation is, of course, not true, either for me or for St. Bonaventure.

Let us mention only the question of the eternity of the world. St. Bonaventure believes, against all the philosophers, that he has demonstrations to disprove it. St. Thomas denies that we have any valid demonstration to disprove the eternity of the world, or even to prove this an impossibility. The second part of the quotation is certainly not the proof of the first, nor equivalent to a proof. It is interesting, however, that Doctor Pegis has italicized "must." Is it not obvious that St. Bonaventure here speaks, not of logical necessity, but only of a psychological or moral necessity? Is it not Catholic teaching that the power of human reason is very limited and exposed to many errors, as Pope Leo says in his encyclical *Aeterni Patris*:

Etenim cum humana mens certis finibus, iisque angustis, conclusa teneatur, pluribus erroribus et multarum rerum ignorationi est obnoxia.

And is it not a fact that all ancient philosophers without exception fell into many errors, because they lacked the light of faith? Hence without faith it was psychologically necessary for them to fall into at least some errors. I do not think that Professor Pegis thinks differently. I believe we both subscribe to the words of Pope Leo:

Quod si, Venerabiles Fratres, ad historiam philosophiae respiciatur, cuncta, quae paullo ante diximus, re ipsa comprobare intelligetis. Et sane philosophorum veterum, qui fidei beneficio caruerunt, etiam qui habebantur sapientissimi, in plurimis deterrime errarunt. Nostis enim, inter nonnulla vera, quam saepe falsa et absona, quam multa incerta et dubia tradiderint de vera divinitatis ratione . . . (*Opera S. Thomae*, ed. Leonina, t. I, viii).

### (3) Professor Pegis says:

Now it is a fact that the whole Thomistic view of the nature of God is implicit in the proof of the divine omnipotence as St. Thomas understands it (p. 468).

As far as I know, this is not the commonly accepted interpretation of St. Thomas, and hence Professor Pegis' private affair with other Thomists. The same is true also of the conclusion from his view on St. Thomas:

To think in this way, however, is nothing less than to ruin philosophy, for such an attitude consists in accepting by faith that which St. Thomas thought was philosophically demonstrable (p. 468).

I have no comment to offer on this unhappy thought.

(4) Professor Pegis finds it puzzling that I have given Ockham

the title "defender of the faith."<sup>3</sup> The title really does not matter. By it I meant this: Ockham confessed in all honesty that he was unable to *demonstrate certain* truths, which others believed they had demonstrated, because he feared that the good of the faith is endangered if we base ourselves on insufficient reasons. In this sentiment, though not in its wider application, he had St. Thomas as a good companion, for the Angelic Doctor confessed that he was unable to refute demonstratively the infinite duration of the world, and justified the necessity of acknowledging this failure as follows:

Has autem rationes [for a finite duration of the world], quia usquequaque non de necessitate concludunt, licet probabilitatem habeant, sufficit tangere solum, ne videatur fides catholica in vanis rationibus constituta et non potius in solidissima Dei doctrina (*Contra Gentiles*, II, 38).

And again:

Unde mundum incoepisse est credibile, non autem demonstrabile vel scibile. Et hoc utile est ut consideretur, ne forte aliquis, quod fidei est demonstrare praesumens, rationes non necessarias inducat, quae praebeant materiam irridendi infidelibus, existimantibus nos propter huiusmodi rationes credere quae fidei sunt (*Summa Theologica*, I, q. 46, a. 2 c.).

Does not Scotus repeat that? He says:

Adducere tamen sophismata pro demonstrationibus, periculosum esset contra infideles, quia ex hoc exponeretur fides derisioni (*Oxonienae*, II, d. 1, q. 3, n. 8, ed. Vivès, t. 16, 136).

And is this not exactly the position of Ockham also?

### AD III

We now come to the most decisive part of Professor Pegis' "not-polemical" reflections, the part which concerns the very problem which I have discussed in my article in *Traditio*. Here he takes up a determined defense of Gilson's accusation of Ockham.

Gilson's accusation comes down to this, that for Ockham "human knowledge would be practically indistinguishable from what it is, even though all its objects were destroyed; nothing is necessarily required to make knowledge possible but the mind and God." That is to say, "if God can conserve in us the intuition of something that is not actually existing, how shall we ever be sure that what we are perceiving as real is an actually existing thing? In other words, if it is possible for God to make us perceive as real an object

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3. Incidentally, there is a no less startling "paradox" in Ockham's *Dialogus*, 1a pars, lib. 2, c. 19 *et seq.* This could merit Ockham the title "Defender of St. Thomas" — against the *Articuli Parisienses*.



that does not really exist, have we any proof that this world of ours is not a vast phantasmagoria behind which there is no reality to be found?"

To this I say: For Ockham, human knowledge, even though its objects were destroyed, would be both practically and theoretically distinguishable from what it is. It is true that, to make knowledge *possible*, nothing is necessarily required except the mind and God — if, and only if, nothing exists besides God and the mind. If, however, something exists outside God and the mind, this reality is necessarily required as partial cause for the *evident judgment* that it exists. Hence the possibility of distinguishing in theory and in practice. Neither Gilson nor Pegis has ever offered to the contrary a text in which Ockham denies either this possibility or this necessity.

On the last part I have commented in my article in *Traditio* as follows:

Ockham had called it a contradiction to perceive *as real* an object that does not exist, not, however, to perceive intuitively an object *as not real* (p. 235, n. 28).

Professor Pegis finds in Ockham's *Commentary to the Sentences*, Report. II, q. 15 E, two distinct discussions, which have to be carefully distinguished:

In the first part of this text Ockham is discussing intuitive knowledge and judgments of existence. In the second part, the discussion turns on the relations between intuitive knowledge and judgments of non-existence. Now the difficulties posed by these two discussions are entirely different. The first discussion produces these two difficulties:

(I) Whether by intuitive knowledge we can apprehend a reality, given that that reality does not exist?

(II) Whether we can assent to a thing as existing, given that it does not exist?

On the other hand, the second discussion is concerned with the intuition and the judgment of non-existence, given that a thing does not exist. Gilson's charge of skepticism, which Father Boehner thinks he has answered, lies primarily in the Ockhamistic context of judgments of existence, a context whose virtualities Father Boehner's own discussion has tended to obscure (p. 470).

Let us, for the time being, note here only that Doctor Pegis emphasizes that the *context* proves the charge against Ockham, and that I have tended to obscure the *virtualities* of this context. This has to be kept well in mind.

After a long interpretation of the text of Ockham taken from my edition in *Traditio* (an interpretation which I cannot accept in every

detail,<sup>4</sup> but which for the present can be the basis for further discussion), Professor Pegis finds himself confronted with this aporia:

After this exposition Ockham concludes that it is clear how intuitive knowledge is that knowledge by which I know a thing to be when it is, and not to be when it is not (p. 475).

This is correct and would, in my opinion, make Professor Pegis' further comment and his desperate attempt to save Gilson superfluous. However, he continues — and this now comes as a surprise:

It is sufficient for our purpose if we propose three questions for consideration on the basis of Ockham's text *In II Sent.*, q. 15 E.

(I) Does not Ockham hold that it is possible, given a supernaturally caused intuitive knowledge, to judge that a thing exists when it does not exist?

(II) How is it possible for Ockham to derive opposite conclusions from a supernaturally caused knowledge of a non-existent thing? For does he not hold that by a supernaturally caused intuitive knowledge I can judge both that a thing exists and that a thing does not exist (assuming in both cases the non-existence of the thing)?

(III) If these two points are true, does not Ockham's omnipotentism lead him to violate the principle of contradiction in at least two distinct ways (p. 475).

Here are my answers:

To I: No! Ockham does not hold that it is possible, given a supernaturally caused intuitive knowledge, to judge that a thing exists when it does not exist. Ockham has denied this on several occasions, and has never affirmed it.

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4. I cannot even agree with his interpretation of St. Thomas. For on page 471, footnote 26, he writes: "For St. Thomas Aquinas, the proper object of the judgment is *ipsum esse rei* (*In B. De Trinitate*, q. V, a. 3, Resp.). In this sense, a judgment cannot but be an assent — an assent to the being of a thing." And a little further: "For, in St. Thomas Aquinas, the distinction does not lie between judgment and assent, as it does in Ockham; the distinction rather lies between a direct and reflexive judgment, both of which are assents. The direct judgment is an assent to being while the reflexive judgment is an assent to one's own act of assenting to being (cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I-II, q. 17, a. 6, Resp.)." Cf., however, P. Wilpert, "Das Urteil als Träger der Wahrheit nach Thomas von Aquin," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, 46 (1933), 56-75. This author maintains that judgment (an expression which is true or false) and assent to a judgment have to be distinguished according to St. Thomas. Cf. p. 74: "Gewiss kennt Thomas eine zweifache Bedeutung des Begriffes *judicium*. Erst im Urteil ist der assensus möglich, notwendig dafür aber, dass ein Gedankeninhalt das Prädikat der Wahrheit erhalte, ist er indes nicht." The identification of judgment and assent which Professor Pegis maintains is, according to Wilpert, a false interpretation of St. Thomas, adopted by Joannes a St. Thoma and Suarez, while he himself gives valuable evidence for the interpretation of Cajetan and Mercier, who both deny this identity. Ockham, then, would go with the latter. As to myself, I would prefer to say with Spinoza: "Non sum actor huius scenae, sum solum speculator."

To II: No! It is not possible, according to Ockham, to derive opposite conclusions from a supernaturally caused knowledge of a non-existing thing. It is assumed, of course, that there is no change outside this cognition. For if there is an intuitive cognition of a non-existing being, and this non-existing being comes to existence, the opposite assent on the basis of this cognition plus the existence of the thing is forced on the mind, and consequently the opposite assent to the judgment is then warranted: "The thing exists." Hence the answer to the second part of the question: Ockham does not hold that by a supernaturally caused intuitive knowledge I can judge both that a thing exists and that a thing does not exist (assuming in both cases the non-existence of the thing). It is assumed, of course, as before, that no change occurs in the thing of which intuitive cognition is given.

To III: Since Professor Pegis is mistaken as regards points I and II, he is wrong in concluding that Ockham's "omnipotentism" leads him to violate the principle of contradiction.

I am certainly grateful to Professor Pegis for having formulated his questions (or theses) in so clear a manner. That makes an equally clear answer possible.

Where are the proofs for Professor Pegis' theses? For the first and the most basic one, Professor Pegis offers the following text as proof (I prefer to quote it in Latin, though his translation seems to be correct):

Ex istis sequitur, quod notitia intuitiva, tam sensitiva quam intellectiva, potest esse de re non existente. Et hanc conclusionem probo aliter quam prius sic: Omnis res absoluta distincta loco et subiecto ab alia re absoluta, potest per potentiam divinam absolutam existere sine illa, quia non videtur verisimile, quod si Deus vult destruere unam rem absolutam existentem in coelo, quod necessitetur destruere unam aliam rem existentem in terra. Sed visio intuitiva, tam sensitiva quam intellectiva, est res absoluta distincta loco et subiecto ab obiecto. Sicut si videam intuitive stellam existentem in coelo, illa visio intuitiva, sive sit intellectiva sive sensitiva, distinguitur loco et subiecto ab obiecto viso; ergo ista visio potest manere, stella destructa (*In I Sent.*, Prol. q. 1 HH, ed. Boehner, p. 29).

To this text Professor Pegis adds:

Certainly Ockham thinks here that he sees the star when the star no longer exists. Is Gilson wrong in attributing such a view to Ockham? If texts such as this mean anything, there is surely no way of avoiding Gilson's conclusion (p. 476).

Now, there is no doubt that this text does mean something, but not what Professor Pegis or Gilson (according to Pegis) *imply* or read into Ockham's words. For Pegis *infers* from this text that Ockham holds that it is possible, given a supernaturally caused intuitive knowledge, to *judge* that a thing exists when it does not exist, or to judge of the *existence* of a *non-existing* thing, given that God caused in us an intuitive knowledge. He only infers that Ockham here admitted this contradiction. However, Professor Pegis' speculation is neither good interpretation nor good logic, and for the following reasons.

First: Where, in this text, does the term "to judge," or its equivalent, occur? It is not to be found. There is here poor interpretation and a *petitio principii*. Ockham only infers: "Ergo ista visio *potest* manere, stella destructa." According to good Aristotelian, Thomistic, and Ockhamistic logic, the mood of possibility is equivalent to the mood of non-impossibility; for "impossibility" in the logical sense we can substitute "contradiction" or its equivalent; hence the "potest" in Ockham's text comes exactly down to "non-contradiction." In other words, it is no contradiction that intuitive cognition is given and that the object of this cognition outside the mind does not exist. The object in the sky is a real thing; the cognition is a psychic reality; both are distinct by distance and subject. If I have an intuitive cognition of this object, my cognition is a psychic reality corresponding to the thing; and if now this psychic reality is supernaturally conserved by God while the object in the sky is destroyed, then it only follows that I have an intuitive cognition of an object which does not exist. Does it follow from this that I then *judge* and *give my evident assent* to the statement: "This object exists"? By no means! For the simple apprehension must be distinguished from the complex or statement: "This thing exists," and also from the judgment or assent to this statement. The assent to the statement always, without any exception, depends on the existence or non-existence of the thing. If the thing exists, its existence is partial and necessary cause for the evident assent to the statement: "The thing exists." If the thing does not exist, its non-existence or the lack of any causality from the side of the thing is the basis for the evident assent to the statement that the thing does not exist.



Again let us ask: Where does Ockham say, either in this text or in any other, "that it is possible, given a supernaturally caused intuitive knowledge, to *judge* that a thing exists when it does not exist"? Professor Pegis cannot, and in fact does not, maintain that Ockham *says* it. He maintains, however, that it is *implied* by this text. Unfortunately he does not make this implication explicit; hence it is *his personal assumption*.

Of course, on the basis of such an assumption, not proved by any text of Ockham, it is easy to construct the logical monstrosity:

How can Ockham possibly assert that we can judge of the *existence* of a *non-existing* thing, given that God caused in us an intuitive knowledge of it (p. 476).

When he continues, saying: "That is certainly a problem, not to say a contradiction," let us say with Ockham: "That is a contradiction." Ockham has always conceded it as such. Professor Pegis himself admits this to some extent, with, however, a distinction:

True enough, Ockham has tried in the *Quodlibeta* to prove that it would be contradictory to assert the existence of a non-existing thing. If we take this decision seriously, then we are led to wonder whether Ockham did not finally give up the position he adopted in the *Commentary on the Sentences*. For this amounts to saying that it is impossible to have an intuition of a thing, as well as an evident judgment of the existence of a thing, without being given that existence (p. 477).

Instead of asking now, as Professor Pegis does:

What happens, then, to the view which we have already seen, namely, that there can be an intuitive knowledge when the object is a *purum nihil*? (p. 477),

we might rather ask the Professor himself: What happens now to your own conclusion, drawn from your own inference from a statement of Ockham, an inference which Ockham had never drawn, and for which you are unable to give the evidence of any text? If the object is a *purum nihil*, it is no contradiction that there be an intuitive cognition of the object; but it is a contradiction in this case to judge that it exists.

Some readers may have wondered how Ockham can maintain this, namely, that there can be the possibility of intuitive cognition without the existence of the object. Ockham's answer is that such a cognition is in God; consequently it is possible. For God knows every-

thing, including the *possibilia*, which are a *purum nihil* as to their existence. How does God know that certain things do not exist? Not through a discursive process; hence by incomplex knowledge. The incomplex knowledge which is the basis for judgments of existence and non-existence is called by Ockham *notitia intuitiva* (which comprises the Thomistic *scientia visionis* and *simplicis intelligentiae*). Since God has intuitive knowledge of non-existents, intuitive cognition of non-existents is possible. Hence Ockham can write already in the *Ordinatio*, right after the text which is the basis for Professor Pegis' imputation:

Patet etiam ex praedictis, quomodo Deus habet notitiam intuitivam omnium, sive sint, sive non sint, quia ita evidenter cognoscit creaturas non esse, quando non sunt, sicut cognoscit eas esse, quando sunt (*loc. cit.*).

Consequently Ockham would answer Professor Pegis' charge by asking: How can God have the *scientia simplicis intelligentiae* of something that does not exist, if discursive reasoning and any kind of inference is excluded?

But let us return to Professor Pegis. He is not quite satisfied with the assumption of a revision made by Ockham. For he finds the same contradiction admitted by Ockham in the very next *Quodlibetum* after the *Quodlibetum* in which Ockham had called Professor Pegis' assumption a contradiction. There, in *Quodl.* VI, q. 6, we read:

Dico quod contradictio est, quod visio sit et quod illud quod videtur, non sit in effectu nec esse possit. Ideo contradictio est, quod chymaera videatur intuitive. Sed non est contradictio, quod id quod videtur nihil sit in actu extra animam, dummodo possit esse in effectu vel aliquando fuerit in rerum natura.

I am at a loss to find in this text any contradiction to the former statement of Ockham. For Ockham says here that it is a contradiction to have an intuitive cognition of something which is not possible and hence cannot be in reality. He excludes from the objects of intuitive cognition only the *impossibilia*, i. e., contradictory objects, not however non-existents. On the contrary, he states here again *expressis verbis* that there is no contradiction in the notion of intuitive knowledge of a *non-existent*, but *possible*, thing, and I am especially at a loss to understand Professor Pegis' discovery of a contradiction, since he italicizes the important words: "nor be capable of being" and "but it is not a contradiction that that which is seen should be actually nothing out-

side the soul, provided that it can actually be or has been in reality" (cf. p. 477). But it seems that Professor Pegis is haunted by the expression of Ockham that something which is possible, but does not exist, is a *purum nihil*. Here he finds it again in the expression: "quod id, quod videtur, *nihil* sit." Ockham, of course, means by this that a thing which is possible, but does not exist, is a *purum nihil* as regards its existence and existential reality. The cognitive content of such intuitive knowledge of a possible but non-existing thing, of course, is a psychic reality, according to Ockham.

We have already anticipated some of Professor Pegis' discussions concerning the second problem. How does he prove his second thesis? I shall not criticize the formulation of it, and I take it for granted that Professor Pegis too understands the problem, expressed in Ockhamistic terminology, exactly thus: How can the *same* intuitive cognition be the basis of an evident judgment that the object exists, if the object exists, and that it does not exist, if the object does not exist? We have already made the answer clear. In the first case, the evident judgment that the thing exists is made because the object, which is partial cause for the evident assent, is given; in the second case, the evident judgment that the thing does not exist is made because the object, which is partial cause, is lacking, and this lack of the partial cause, together with the same intuitive cognition as before, is now the cause for this assent. That a partial cause *together* with another partial cause and *without* the other partial cause can have contradictory effects, can hardly be denied by Professor Pegis.

But Doctor Pegis does not consider this exactly as an answer, and makes the surprising statement:

This is not exactly an answer, for it assumes that the existence of a thing makes a difference in our judgment of its existence. To hold this, however, Ockham would have to ruin the very point of his examples about the star and the object in far-away Rome. Hence Ockham cannot possibly hold that the existence of a thing can make a difference between the judgment of its existence and the judgment of its non-existence, if he has already granted that (supernaturally speaking) its existence is not necessary for our intuition of it. In short, if the existence of a thing is not necessary to the (supernaturally caused) intuitive knowledge of it; if, in other words, the existence of a thing need not, absolutely speaking, act as a partial cause of our intuitive knowledge of it, why should the non-existence of a thing affect intuitive knowledge in any way? No doubt, Ockham must say that the thing is a partial cause of the judgment that it exists, and he must explain in this way

the judgment of its non-existence. But there is absolutely no reason why he should say this, since he has already said that intuitive knowledge can be caused without the existence of things (p. 477).

This statement speaks for itself. And a prudent reader is asked only to read it again, having in mind that the position by which Ockham is said to ruin himself is a construction of Professor Pegis, and furthermore that Ockham carefully distinguishes between *intuitive cognition* (which can be produced without an object outside the mind, but then not without God's supernatural interference) and the *assent* to the statement: "This thing does not exist; this thing does exist." For if the thing does not exist, and supernaturally produced intuitive knowledge is given, the lack of one partial cause for the assent, plus the intuitive cognition, is the basis of the statement: "The thing does not exist." If the thing exists, the existence of the thing acts together with intuitive cognition of it as partial cause for the statement: "The thing exists." If Professor Pegis does not see a reason why Ockham should say this, Ockham himself certainly saw a reason: namely, that evidence should always be based ultimately on existence or non-existence.

From now on Professor Pegis moves more or less in pure constructions. When he says (p. 478):

After all, it remains true to say that for Ockham there can be an intuitive knowledge of a thing which is in itself a *nihil*, provided this *nihil* is a *possible* being,

Ockham would say: "Concedo" (in the sense previously explained).

Then Professor Pegis goes on to say:

That is the main point on which I should like to insist. If non-contradiction in the objects of intuitive knowledge is sufficient for Ockham, then he evidently does not need actual things outside the soul.

To this Ockham could answer in his own defense: Say it rather thus (the antecedent of your conditional being granted, of course): Then I evidently do not need actual things outside the soul (except God) for the evident assent that this thing does not exist; for if, and only if, the thing does not exist, the (supernaturally possible) intuitive cognition alone would be sufficient cause for the evident assent to the judgment: "This thing does not exist." However (and please take my words as they stand, for I have repeated it time and



again), I evidently need the existence of the thing as partial cause for the evident assent to the statement: "This thing exists."

Thus the whole chain of further inferences which Professor Pegis has so neatly arranged breaks down. It seems utterly useless to refute them or repeat them individually, for the simple reason that they are essentially constructions based on the former assumptions.

#### AD IV

I have virtually no comment to make on this point, because it moves entirely in generalities and, as far as I am able to see, does not even answer the questions posited by Professor Pegis himself. For I have not found there a definition of a skeptic, nor a statement which tells "*when* a philosopher may be so called." Perhaps Doctor Pegis tacitly invites the reader to think that any philosophy of a kind of vague Platonism is skeptical. For the sake of curiosity I would like to quote one passage:

With Platonism, Ockhamism has in common the gulf which it places between thought and the world of things. But Ockhamism is fundamentally Platonism minus the Ideas (p. 479).

I wonder what other historians of philosophy would think of a Platonism from which the Ideas have vanished!

## II. MINOR DETAILS

1. Concerning my edition: On page 470, Professor Pegis criticizes my paragraphing of the text of E. What he says seems to me to be well founded, and I regret that I did not make the more desirable arrangement. On page 473, footnote 28, Professor Pegis criticizes the adoption of "determinata" in preference to "debita." Here he has justly made use of the advice which I expressed as follows: "To read the variants, too, is sometimes very important, for a prudent reader may justly prefer it to the adopted text" (p. 245). Instead of "it" I should have said "some of them."

This gives me an occasion to answer a friendly criticism offered by Father R. Arbesmann in his review of my article (cf. *Theological Studies*, V [1944], 388). My doubt regarding the authenticity of the Padova Manuscript could hardly convince anybody not in constant contact with Ockham's manuscripts. Though I was personally convinced of the non-authenticity of this work, and though the reason

I offered was for me sufficient, I must still have had in my memory a vague recollection of that decisive proof in my files which I did not explicitly adduce. For Dom H. Bascour, O. S. B., to whom I owe valuable notes on the manuscript-tradition of Ockham's works, has written in a private letter concerning this manuscript as follows:

Padova Anton. 237: I, II, d. 14 jusqu' à la fin, d'après F. Pelster, *Gregorianum* 1937, p. 310; mais ce doit être un erreur. J'ai vérifié sur des photographies du ms. et n'ai rien trouvé de semblable. Il doit avoir confondu avec Scot, qui commence en effet 1. II, d. 14 (f. 92vb).

2. On several occasions Professor Pegis makes reference to Professor Gilson, and to my criticism of his position. Some of his remarks might create the impression that I was too radical in my criticism.

First, I believe that my criticism, which lacks any personal note, can at most contribute to Gilson's generally accepted eminence in matters of medieval research. His excellent and scholarly work is unanimously appreciated. But he is the last to claim that he is infallible.

Secondly, I believe that I am personally as much indebted to Professor Gilson as Doctor Pegis is — and probably even more. For I am indebted to him not only spiritually but materially also. I shall never cease considering him "amicum et patrem nostrum," as I have said in the preface to the edition of the first question of Ockham's *Commentary on the Sentences*. He has awakened in me a great love of the Seraphic Doctor, and of the Scholastics in general, and even of Ockham by exhorting me, in personal conversations, to undertake much-needed editions of Ockham. The translating of three of his books into German has recompensed me considerably more than the tedious work of translation could be expected to, by shaping my own intellectual development. I am indebted to him especially for that very attitude of mind which has forced me to criticize his interpretation of Ockham. For I have learned from him, what I later found expressed in Scotus: "Ex dictis eorum volo rationabiliorem intellectum accipere quem possum" (*Oxononiense*, I, d. 8, q. 5, n. 8, ed. Vivès, t. 9, 745). We are at one in that attitude; we are at variance only in a concrete interpretation, that is in the application of this attitude. Taught by many years of personal acquaintance with

him, I am sure that his magnanimity well stands a difference of opinion on the part of his friends, even if such a difference seems very fundamental. A man's greatness is measured by that which he can bear. To destroy the work of his life, however, or even that of the last fifteen years, is entirely alien to my intentions.

But if I should have hurt the feelings of my friend, that would cause me more sorrow than it does Professor Pegis. In this case, I infinitely regret having criticized his position in public, even though my criticism was limited to the mild enough expression: "Gilson's treatment of Ockham, in his *Unity of Philosophical Experience*, needs overhauling" (p. 240). Hardly a "sweeping criticism" or a "grave and radical charge"!

But I know well that Professor Gilson is capable of a benevolent smile at the "rigor Minorum qui nemini parcunt." And he may rest assured that his *Philosophie de saint Bonaventure* is one of those rare and precious gifts for which the "turba Fratrum Minorum" will always be grateful.

3. Professor Pegis quotes a passage from my article: "The Text-tradition of Ockham's *Ordinatio*" (*The New Scholasticism*, XVI [1942], 222) in which he finds the following "defiant words":

If one is not able to grasp the meaning of Ockham's conceptualism and his criticism (not skepticism<sup>5</sup> — this disease certainly is in Holkot) and his serious endeavour to find a new solution for Christian philosophy in a new situation, a solution which satisfied him and others, and even Saints, he may take our advice and leave the *Venerabilis Inceptor* alone (p. 467).

Unfortunately Professor Pegis did not quote enough. For before I gave this advice, I said that a new edition of the *Ordinatio* will not yield new discoveries in Ockham, but will necessarily lead to a revision of certain prejudices:

New discoveries concerning the doctrine of Ockham can hardly be expected from a future critical edition of this first book. Such an edition, however, will have another effect, viz., a revision of the exposition of Ockham's doctrine in our textbooks and of many articles written by incompetent students.

Then follow the "defiant words."

When I wrote these words, I did not realize that they could possibly hurt any of the competent students. If they do, I regret them.

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5. I have here corrected Professor Pegis' misquotation of my original. I wrote "skepticism," not "nominalism."

But I am happy to make explicit now at least, that I did not consider Professors Pegis or Gilson incompetent students. I had in mind certain articles — but “*nomina sunt odiosa*.” The remark on Holkot, the Dominican Scholastic of Oxford, does not seem wholly happy now to me either.

In this connection, I would request Professor Pegis not to call Ockham's theory as regards universals “Nominalism.” We both agree that “*nomina sunt ad placitum*.” But even neo-Scholastics usually distinguish clearly between Conceptualism and Nominalism. Ockham has never identified universals with “*flatus vocis*.” I insist on the distinction in order to keep Professor Pegis safe from these “defiant words.”

4. On page 468 of Professor Pegis' article we read:

The doctrine of the divine omnipotence is an excellent example of the issue between St. Thomas and Father Boehner.

Here I am embarrassed, and also a little flattered. But I refuse to be pushed into the ring with the great St. Thomas. I cannot enter this Gigantomachia; I am only a spectator at this great battle between the giants St. Thomas and Scotus and Ockham. I am only a historian who unfortunately sides, as spectator, with Scotus or Ockham.

This dispenses likewise with the insinuation expressed in this form:

For does not such a defense free Ockham of the charge of skepticism on the condition of involving St. Thomas in it? (p. 469).

The context of the text quoted by Professor Pegis shows that I am speaking there about Ockham and his fear, which he indeed expresses, without mentioning St. Thomas.

This may suffice. There are, of course, more points on which I might comment. But I hope that I have answered at least the main ones. As far as I am concerned, the discussion is closed. As soon as Professor Pegis, or anyone else, should offer evidence on the basis of *texts*, and not on the basis of speculation or of a scheme of the history of philosophy into which facts are pressed, however ingeniously, I shall abandon my position. Doctor Pegis himself will realize, I hope, that my position is sound. No human being is free from prejudice. But instead of interpreting Ockham from the standpoint of my own philosophical position, I have tried to be guided only by *his* views in interpreting *his* texts. I have the impression that Doctor



Pegis has interpreted Ockham too much according to his own philosophical position. As he knows, I do not share all his views. However, we both are one in affirming the essential basis on which various Scholastic systems can be constructed, which systems are not always necessarily contradictory. Thus let us both enjoy the generous liberty which the Church in her wisdom and her Catholicity, that is in her universality, has granted us.

I conclude by quoting what was, once at least, a "traditional" view on William Ockham. The great Irish historian of the Franciscan order, Luke Wadding, wrote:

Neque vero depravatorem theologiae...aut philosophiae fuisse Occhamum, probant ipsa eius scripta philosophica et theologica, quae passim in scholis leguntur, approbantur, commendantur: confirmantque destinata sibi subsellia in quibusdam orthodoxis academiis, ex quibus solae Occhami sententiae tum philosophicae, tum theologicae, designatis stipendiis edocentur. . . . Non eam ego sumo provinciam, ut velim omnes libros Occhami defendere, et quidquid scripserat, commendare; immo aperte condemno, et ex corde detestor omnia quae in Joannem Pontificem insolenter evomuit. Theologicis censuris dignum existimo Opus Nonaginta Dierum. . . . Illud solum velim, quae communi scholasticorum methodo vel scripsit in Aristotelem vel in libros Sententiarum, aut elaboravit absque bile ante indignationem conceptam contra Joannem Pontificem, catholica esse in scholis recepta absque acri censura, et proinde immerito atque iniuste depravatorem dici philosophiae seu theologiae (*Annales Minorum*, ad annum 1347, t. VIII [nova editio, Quaracchi, 1932], n. xxx-xxxi, 17-18).

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## THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THOMAS OF CELANO\*

THIS year marks seven hundred years since Thomas of Celano, the first and foremost of the early chroniclers of the life of St. Francis of Assisi, wrote his *Vita Secunda*, supplementing his *Vita Prima*. All thirteenth-century biographers, including St. Bonaventure (d. 1274), drew from these two works. Many of the foremost Catholic specialists in Franciscan research today are of the opinion, first, that Celano's *Vita Secunda* was not only the answer to the request of the Minister General, Crescentius of Jesi (1244-1247); but that, secondly, the famous "Three Companions" of St. Francis, Brothers Leo, Angelus, and Rufinus, collaborated with Celano in composing his *Vita Secunda*, or at least, supplied the material from which Celano wrote this famous work; and, thirdly, that the work commonly known as *Tres Socii*, or *Legend of the Three Companions*, which for centuries paraded under their names, was not written by them at all, but rather by some Spiritualistically inclined compiler of the fourteenth century, for no prominent author during the thirteenth century quoted from, or even mentioned, *Tres Socii* as we know it today. It seems fitting, then, that FRANCISCAN STUDIES commemorate the seventh centenary of Celano's *Vita Secunda*, held in high esteem by the early "Three Companions" of St. Francis and by the great St. Bonaventure himself, with a treatise on Thomas of Celano and his literary achievements.

The small Church of San Giorgio at Assisi was filled to capacity on Sunday, July 16, 1228, for the canonization of St. Francis. Among the concourse were many friars carrying torches and olive branches, St. Clare and her Poor Ladies, and members of other religious orders. Pope Gregory IX from his throne read the decree of canonization:

Ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et gloriosae Virginis Mariae, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et ad honorem gloriosae Ecclesiae Romanae, beatissimum patrem Franciscum, quem Dominus glorificavit in coelis, venerantes in terris, de consilio fratrum nostrorum et aliorum praelatorum in catalogo sanctorum decernimus adnotandum, et festum ejus die obitus sui celebrari.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Thomas de Celano, *Vita Prima*, n. 126.

Immediately the Cardinals, together with the Pope, began to sing the "Te Deum." The ceremony concluded with the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass on the temporary tomb of the Little Poor Man of Assisi.

Brother Elias had acted with great haste in planning a church to the memory of the Poverello. The site for the new church, the "Colle del Inferno," a former place of execution, had been selected. On the day after the canonization, Gregory IX laid the corner stone of San Francesco, destined to be the final resting place of the Saint. Here the body lay hidden from relic-hunters and worshippers for almost six centuries.

It was fitting that the life and the heroic deeds of this saintly man should be recorded for posterity. It was probably after these ceremonies in Assisi that Thomas of Celano received the commission from Gregory IX to write a biography of St. Francis of Assisi.<sup>2</sup> Celano's work has occasioned both praise and scorn for himself. By members of the Franciscan order, Thomas of Celano is considered the official historian of the order. In the eyes of Catholic historians, he is interested only in presenting historical truth. According to others, as the non-Catholic Sabatier,<sup>3</sup> Celano is guilty of partiality, of being the "tool" of the dominating party. Perhaps no other early biographer of St. Francis, or historian of the Franciscan movement, has been so much abused as Thomas of Celano.

## I. THE LIFE OF THOMAS OF CELANO

On the early life of Thomas of Celano we have very little information. Born in the city of Celano, known today as Piscina, in the Abruzzi mountains of Italy, he probably received a good education before he entered the order. He was admitted into the company of the Friars at St. Mary of the Portiuncula, together with some other young men of letters and of noble descent,<sup>4</sup> by St. Francis himself, who had just returned from Spain. The Poverello had left Italy, probably in the winter of 1213-1214, for Morocco, where he hoped to preach the Gospel to the Mussulmans. He traveled across Spain, but falling sick before he reached his objective, he had to return to

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2. *Ibid.*, Praef., n. 1.

3. Paul Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, pp. 365-369.

4. Celano, *op. cit.*, nn. 56-57.

Italy. Since it is impossible to ascertain the exact date of this unsuccessful trip of St. Francis to Morocco, we must be content with placing the date of Celano's admission into the order between 1213 and 1216.<sup>5</sup>

At the General Chapter of 1221, held at the Portiuncula, Celano was one of the twenty-five volunteers chosen for the mission to Germany. Because the first Franciscan mission to Germany had been a complete failure, Caesar of Spire, the newly appointed Provincial for Germany, made better preparations for the second journey to this foreign country. The twenty-five missionaries, twelve priests and thirteen brothers, were in the meanwhile distributed among the various convents in Lombardy. Approximately three months later they set out for the city of Trent in the Tyrol. In September, 1221, they left the Tyrol and traveled to Bozen, Brixen, Sterzing, finally arriving at Augsburg on October 16, 1221. There Caesar held the first chapter of the province, and then he sent the friars to various cities of Germany. The chronicles do not mention to what particular mission Thomas of Celano was sent; we do know, however, that at the Provincial Chapter held at Worms in 1222, he was appointed Custodian of Mainz, Worms, Cologne, and Spire. One of his companions in the new mission-field was Jordan of Giano, another early historian of the order. In the following year Caesar of Spire appointed Thomas of Celano Vicar of the German Province, while he himself went to Assisi for the General Chapter.

In 1223 Caesar was relieved of his office, and Albert of Pisa was appointed Provincial. It seems that at the Provincial Chapter, held at Spire on September 8, 1223, Thomas of Celano was appointed Custodian of the Rhenish Custody.<sup>6</sup> Some, however, are of the opinion that Celano was freed from his office of Custodian, since his name no longer appears in the annals of the German province, and that he returned to Italy.<sup>7</sup>

Some authors, as the Protestant minister, Rosedale, think that Thomas of Celano saw St. Francis before the latter's death, and that he saw and touched the Saint's stigmata. We cannot say with any degree of certainty whether or not Celano was the constant com-

5. *Ibid.*, nn. 56-57.

6. *Ibid.*, n. 1.

7. P. Eduardus Alenconiensis, *S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula*, p. xvi.



panion of the Poverello during his last two years. From his description of St. Francis' last two years it would seem rather that he gathered his information from some eyewitness than that he was an eyewitness himself.<sup>8</sup> In the first chapter of the second part of the *Vita Prima* Celano writes that he will describe the last two years of the life of St. Francis, "prout potuimus recte scire." The word "potuimus" seems to indicate a dependence on someone else, or a knowledge derived from the means at hand at that time.

In his description of the Saint's stigmata, Celano uses the words: "Vidimus ista qui ista dicimus, manibus contrectavimus quod manibus exaramus. . . . Plures nobiscum fratres, dum viveret sanctus, id aspererunt."<sup>9</sup> This form of the first person plural does not necessarily mean that Thomas of Celano saw, and with his own hand touched, the stigmata of St. Francis. Perhaps these words are not the words of Celano, but rather of the reliable witnesses, "fidelibus et probatis testibus," who comprised one of the two sources of information in the writing of the *Vita Prima*.<sup>10</sup> Celano, when speaking of himself, uses the first person singular form, as "audivi," "potui," "intellexi," "studui."<sup>11</sup> We conclude, therefore, that he was not a companion of St. Francis during that time, but received his information from the companions of the Saint.

Gregory IX had come to Assisi for the canonization of St. Francis and the laying of the corner stone of the new church. It was probably after these ceremonies, July 15-16, 1228, that Gregory IX commissioned Celano to prepare a biography of St. Francis. The word "probably" is used, for the early chronicles do not specify just when Celano received this commission.<sup>12</sup> This biography, the *Vita Prima* or *Legenda Gregorii*, was approved by Gregory IX on February 25, 1229,<sup>13</sup> and became the official legend of the order.

8. Leo L. Dubois, S. M., "Thomas of Celano, The Historian of St. Francis," *Catholic University Bulletin*, XIII (1907), 250.

9. Celano, *Tractatus de Miraculis S. Francisci Assisiensis*, n. 5.

10. Celano, *Vita Prima*, Prol., n. 1.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.* "Jubente domino et glorioso papa Gregorio."

13. "One of the MSS. of the Legend (3817, National Library, Paris, fourteenth century) contains the following note: 'Apud Perusium felix domnus papa Gregorius nonus secundo gloriosi pontificatus sui anno quinto kal. martii legendam hanc recepit, confirmavit et censuit fore tenendam'" (Johannes Jørgensen, *St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 352).

In 1230 Celano was still in Assisi, where he gave to Jordan of Giano, who was taking some relics of St. Francis to Germany, "some of the hair and particles of clothing of the Saint."<sup>14</sup> From this we may conclude that he was probably present at the transfer of the body of St. Francis from the Church of San Giorgio to the Church of San Francesco, May 25, 1230.

The chronicles make no further mention of Celano until the General Chapter held at Genoa in 1244, when Crescentius of Jesi commissioned him to write a new life of the Saint.<sup>15</sup> Celano began this work after the Chapter and finished it some time between August 11, 1246, and July 13, 1247. This *Vita Secunda* was approved either at the General Chapter held at Lyons, July 13, 1247, or immediately afterward, by the Minister General, Blessed John of Parma.<sup>16</sup>

In his *Vita Prima* and *Vita Secunda* Celano tells us of the conversion and deeds of St. Francis. He does not mention all the miracles attributed to the Saint. Blessed John of Parma, Minister General from 1247 to 1257, received many requests from the friars, asking that the miracles of St. Francis be compiled. By his order Celano collected these miracles in his *Tractatus de Miraculis S. Francisci Assisiensis*, which was completed some time between 1250 and 1253.<sup>17</sup>

It seems Thomas of Celano then left Assisi and went to the city of Tagliacozzo, in the Custody of the Marches. There he had charge of the Poor Clare Nuns of the Monastery of St. John of Varro. We do not know where Celano spent the next years. In September, 1255, St. Clare was canonized by Alexander IV, who called upon the early historian of the order to write a biography of the new Saint. This he did while he was in Assisi 1255-1256; and the *Legenda S. Clarae* seems to have been the last literary work of Celano. He returned to Tagliacozzo and resumed his former duties. He died between 1260 and 1270, and was buried in the Monastery of the Poor Clares. The Sisters of St. Clare abandoned this monastery about 1476. By order of Julian II, it was joined to the convent of the Friars Minor Conventual in 1506. Ten years later the Conventual Friars placed the body of Thomas of Celano behind the main altar of their church.

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14. Edwin J. Auweiler, *The Chronica Fratris Jordani a Giano*, p. 30.

15. Celano, *Vita Secunda*, Praef.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Celano, *Tractatus de Miraculis S. Francisci Assisiensis*, Praef.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century his remains were clothed in a Conventual Friar's habit, and were placed under the main altar. Miracles were attributed to him, and his body has since been venerated by the Conventual Friars in Tagliacozzo. Every year, on August 2, his body is exposed for public veneration.

Thomas of Celano is also reputed to be the author of the *Dies Irae*. The inscription found on his tomb refers to this:

B. THOMAS DE CELANO S. F. D.

SCRIPTOR CRONICAR ET SEQUENTIAE MORTUOR.<sup>18</sup>

The *Stabat Mater dolorosa* and the *Stabat Mater speciosa* are attributed to Thomas of Celano by some authors, though it is quite universally held that Jacopone of Todi wrote these hymns.

## II. THE WORKS OF THOMAS OF CELANO

In the preface of his *Vita Prima S. Francisci Assisiensis*, Celano tells us that his aim is to tell the truth,<sup>19</sup> and that his sources of information are his personal experiences and those of trustworthy witnesses.<sup>20</sup> Celano apologizes for his "unpolished words"<sup>21</sup> — a phrase which perhaps arises from modesty, for he is indeed the "vir literatus" which he elsewhere calls himself.<sup>22</sup> That Celano received an excellent education is evident from his works, which reveal a good knowledge of Sacred Scripture and the Latin language, and also some knowledge of the profane writers, especially of the works of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.<sup>23</sup> The pages are filled with captivating descriptions of men and occurrences. His style is pure and elegant.

Celano divides this work into three parts. The first part, "opusculum primum," is divided into thirty chapters. They give us the story of St. Francis from his early youth to the Christmas spent at Greccio in 1223. The second part tells us how St. Francis spent his last two

18. Eduardus Alenconiensis, *op. cit.*, p. xxi. Father Raphael Huber, O. F. M. Conv. interprets the letters "S. F. D." to mean "Sancti Francisci Discipulus" and the words "SEQUENTIAE MORTUOR" to signify the "Dies Irae." (The letter "B" in the words "CHRONICAR" and "MORTUOR" denotes the form of the genitive plural.)

19. Celano, *Vita Prima*, Prol., n. 1: "a veritate semper praevia et magistra."

20. *Ibid.*: "quae ex ipsius ore audiui, vel a fidelibus et probatis testibus intellexi."

21. *Ibid.*: "verbis licet imperitis."

22. *Ibid.*, n. 37.

23. *Ibid.*, nn. 1, 11, 15, 35, 39.

years on earth. The third part is divided into three sections. Celano begins it with a description of the canonization of the Poverello, which leads us to believe that he was an eye witness of the ceremony. Then, "in a few words,"<sup>24</sup> he describes the miracles that had been accepted and read to the people at the canonization ceremonies in Assisi. He concludes his work, the first primary source of the life of St. Francis, with an epilogue.

Celano must be commended for his systematic and logical order. He divides his work into three parts. Each part is further divided into chapters. Each chapter is composed of two, three, or four at the most, numbered paragraphs. At the beginning of each chapter, Celano states in a few words what is contained in that chapter, e. g., "Caput I. Qualiter conversatus sit in habitu et animo saeculari"; "Caput IV. Qualiter, venditis omnibus, pecuniam susceptam contempsit."

At the General Chapter of Paris in 1266, a decree was passed in virtue of which the *Legenda Major* and the *Legenda Minor*, written by St. Bonaventure, were accepted, and all other *Legendae* were ordered suppressed. Thus the *Vita Prima* of Celano, which had been the official legend of St. Francis for forty years, fell into oblivion. It was brought to light again by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

A year or so after Celano's first work had been approved, a certain "Fratr Benedictus" asked Celano to prepare a life of St. Francis for choir use. This *Legenda S. Francisci ad usum chori*, divided into nine lessons, was probably completed in 1230, and was used by the friars until it, too, was supplanted by the *Legenda Minor* of St. Bonaventure in 1266. It is a work of little or no historical importance, since it consists of extracts from the *Vita Prima*. Julian of Spire depended upon the *Vita Prima* and the *Legenda S. Francisci ad usum chori* in writing his work. The Quaracchi editors, going further, say that Julian of Spire took "some phrases" from Celano's *Legenda chori* for his rhythmic office of St. Francis.<sup>25</sup>

After St. Francis had been canonized his deeds, virtues, and ideas had been discussed by all, especially by the friars; they had been not only extolled, but also exaggerated. The Spirituals were endeavor-

24. *Ibid.*, n. 127: "breviter."

25. *Ibid.*, Praef.



ing to spread their non-Franciscan principles. In a word, everybody seemed to have had his own version of the deeds and sayings of Francis. Just what was the true version? New miracles were reported to have been performed by St. Francis. Was there any truth in these claims? We read in the *Chronicle* of Salimbene that "many things had been found out about St. Francis which had not [yet] been written."<sup>26</sup>

At the General Chapter of January, 1244, Crescentius of Jesi, the Minister General, ordered all the friars to send him in writing what they knew about the "deeds and writings" of St. Francis. Many of the friars, especially Brothers Leo, Rufinus, and Angelus, sent in their information in the form of certain documents. After the material had been collected, Crescentius commissioned the first biographer of St. Francis to write a second legend. Celano completed his *Vita Secunda* between August 11, 1246, and July 13, 1247, the date of the opening of the General Chapter of Lyons. This *Vita Secunda*, which is also known as the *Legenda Secunda*, was approved, as already mentioned, either at the General Chapter of Lyons, or shortly afterward, by the Minister General, Blessed John of Parma.

There is considerable difference of style between the *Vita Prima* and the *Vita Secunda*, and more especially in the method and the approach of the two parts of the *Vita Secunda*. The "primum opus," or first part of the second legend, is written in the form of a biography. In it Celano records the conversion of St. Francis, together with some facts of his later life, unknown to him at the time when he wrote the *Vita Prima*. In the prologue of the *Vita Secunda*, Celano states the purpose of the second part of the legend, namely, to present the principles of St. Francis in regard to himself and to his brothers.<sup>27</sup> The virtues and ideals of St. Francis are illustrated in a collection of stories:

Caput xxxi. Exemplum de mensa in die Paschae apud Graecium praeparata, et quomodo se Christi exemplo sicut peregrinum exhibuit.

Caput XLII. Exemplum sancti de petenda elemosyna.

Caput CLII. De devotione ad Corpus Domini.

26. "Hic [Crescentius] praecepit fratri Thomae de Celano, qui primam Legendam beati Francisci fecerat, ut iterum scriberet alium librum, eo quod multa inveniebantur de beato Francisco, quae scripta non erant" (Salimbene, *Chronica*, Parma, 1857, p. 60; cf. Johannes Jörgensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-370).

27. Celano, *Vita Secunda*, Prol., n. 2.

In the *Vita Prima* Celano uses the first person singular form of the verb, as "audivi," "intellexi," "prout potui," and thus implies that he is the sole author of the work.<sup>28</sup> In the *Vita Secunda* he no longer uses this form, but the first person plural, as "scriberemus," "concurrimus," "conquirimus," "oramus ergo." From this Celano is assumed to be but one of the many co-authors. Father Cuthbert, O. S. F. C., is of the opinion that Celano is only the "scribe or editor," while the co-authors are the "principal authors" of the second part of the *Vita Secunda*.<sup>29</sup>

By decree of the chapter of Paris, 1266, Celano's *Vita Secunda*, along with all other legends of the Saint, was supplanted by the *Legenda Major* of St. Bonaventure. It disappeared and seemed lost for all time, since even the Bollandists were not able to locate it when they published the *Vita Prima* and Celano's biography of St. Clare. The long-lost second legend was finally recovered, however, in the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1806, Stefano Rinaldi, O. F. M. Conv., published Celano's *Vita Secunda* in Rome. Rinaldi depended on the "Assisi manuscript, then the only manuscript of this life known to be in existence."<sup>30</sup>

Celano, in his *Vita Prima*, mentions only the miracles that had been accepted for the canonization of St. Francis. He confesses that he omitted many others.<sup>31</sup> In the prologue of his *Vita Secunda*, he says that he intends to insert in this new work, not all the miracles of St. Francis, but only "certain miracles" and "as the opportunity of inserting them arises."<sup>32</sup> As to why he does not mention all the miracles of St. Francis, "We have determined," he says, "to set forth rather the excellence of his life and the upright manner of his conduct, since miracles do not make sanctity but only manifest it."<sup>33</sup> The friars also had repeatedly urged the Minister General, Blessed John of Parma, to have the miracles of their holy founder compiled.<sup>34</sup> Was there any particular reason for the plea of the friars?

28. Celano, *Vita Prima*, Prol., n. 1.

29. Father Cuthbert, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 427.

30. *Catholic University Bulletin*, XIII (1907), 256.

31. Celano, *Vita Prima*, Prol., n. 2: "tertium vero miracula multa continet et plura tacet."

32. Celano, *Vita Secunda*, Prol., n. 2: "Miracula quaedam interseruntur, prout se ponendi opportunitas offert."

33. Father Cuthbert, *op. cit.*, p. 428. Cf. Celano, *Vita Prima*, n. 71.

34. Celano, *Tractatus de Miraculis*: "multiplicatis litteris."

Blessed John of Parma, at the "General Chapter at Genoa commanded Brother Boniface, who had been the companion of St. Francis, to speak to the brethren concerning the truth of the stigmata, since many of the brethren throughout the world had doubts concerning them."<sup>35</sup> Perhaps not only the friars, but also others, were doubting the truth of the stigmata and the miracles of St. Francis. The Minister General asked Celano to complete his *Vita Prima* with a treatise on the miracles of St. Francis. This he did in his *Tractatus de Miraculis St. Francisci Assisiensis*, written some time between 1250 and 1253. This treatise records not only the miracles, but also a few incidents in the life of St. Francis that had as yet not been given in the two legends, e. g., the visit of Fra Giacomina de Settisoli to Francis a few days before the Saint's death.

When the General Chapter of Paris held in 1266 proscribed the earlier legends about St. Francis and ordered them destroyed, to be supplanted by the legends of St. Bonaventure, was Celano's *Tractatus de Miraculis* also included? It seems that up to the present historians of the sources of Franciscan history have not sufficiently considered this question. The *Chronicle of the Twenty-four Generals* mentions only the fact that Celano had written a treatise on the miracles of St. Francis.<sup>36</sup> We may justly conclude, then, that all the works of Celano were practically lost for centuries.

A "fragment" of the *Tractatus de Miraculis* was found by Sabatier in a manuscript at Assisi. It was published in the *Miscellanea Franciscana*, which is now edited by the Friars Minor Conventual.<sup>37</sup> The treatise was finally found in its integrity. "It was secured at the sale of the Balthazar Boncompagni library, in January, 1898, by Father Louis Anthony Porrentruy, Definitor General of the Capuchins."<sup>38</sup> The Bollandist, Father Van Ortoy, published the complete work in the eighteenth volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana*.<sup>39</sup>

All the works in their integrity were finally found. A "fragment" of the *Vita Secunda* had been found in the public library of Poppi, not far from Mount Alverna in Tuscany. In the Boncompagni library another copy of the *Vita Secunda* was found. It was now possible to

35. Father Cuthbert, *The Chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston*, p. 35.

36. *Analecta Franciscana*, III, 276.

37. *Catholic University Bulletin*, XIII (1907), 256.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

edit the complete works of Celano. The two legends of Celano and his *Tractatus de Miraculis* were first published by the Rev. H. G. Rose-dale, an English Protestant minister.

The work had been prepared and published hurriedly — some say, to forestall the edition announced by Father Edouard d'Alençon. Besides many misprints, the work abounds in other defects: the well-known names of "Vita Prima" and "Vita Secunda" have been changed to those of "Legenda Gregorii" and "Legenda Antiqua" and, to add to the confusion, the Second Life of Thomas of Celano contained in the Boncompagni manuscript has been published under the name of "Tractatus Secundus" as a work different from the "Legenda Antiqua," while it is only another copy of the same work with slight variants and transpositions.<sup>40</sup>

In the meanwhile the edition of Father Edouard d'Alençon was announced. This edition contained the two legends of Celano, the *Legenda ad usum chori*, and the *Tractatus de Miraculis*, as also two liturgical works, the *Sequentia Fratris Thomae a Celano de Beato Francisco* and the *Sequentia Altera*.<sup>41</sup> This edition was for years the standard one. Today the Quaracchi edition of Celano's works on St. Francis of Assisi is considered the best.

Sabatier, in his "Critical Study of the Sources" of the life of St. Francis, accuses Thomas of Celano of partiality, of being the tool of the dominating party. He says:

If Celano was put in trust with the official biography, it is because, being equally in sympathy with Gregory IX and Brother Elias, his absence had kept him out of the conflicts which had marked the last years of Francis' life. Of an irenic temper, he belonged to the category of those souls who easily persuade themselves that obedience is the first of virtues, that every superior is a saint; and if unluckily he is not, that he should nonetheless act as though he were.<sup>42</sup>

Sabatier claims that in the *Vita Prima* Celano praises Gregory IX and Brother Elias, and does not mention the early companions of the Saint, the Spirituals, because of his partiality. He endeavors to strengthen his claims with certain facts taken from the *Vita Secunda*. When Celano wrote his *Vita Secunda* the Spirituals were the dominating power. Elias had revolted. He was excommunicated and had gone over to Frederick II. Because Elias was no longer in power, Celano did not praise him, but rather the Spirituals and their prin-

40. *Ibid.*, 257.

41. P. Eduardus Alenconiensis, *op. cit.* Cf. index.

42. Paul Sabatier, *op. cit.*, p. 366.



ciples of poverty and simplicity — in direct contradiction to his former policy. Sabatier adduces as further proof for his statements the "apparently different accounts" of the blessings bestowed upon Elias and his companions by St. Francis. The Poverello, weak and blind, knew that his last moments were approaching and wanted to bless his friars before leaving them. As Brother Elias and the other friars were kneeling around him, St. Francis put his hand upon the head of Elias, asking:

"On whom do I now hold my right hand?" "On Brother Elias," they answered. "Thus do I desire it," he said. "Thee, my son, I now bless in all thy undertakings, and, as the Almighty has, through thy hands, multiplied my brothers and children, so I now on thee and through thee bless them all. May God, the King of all things, bless thee in Heaven and on earth! I bless thee as I can and more than I can, and what I am unable to do for thee, may He do Who can do all things! May God remember thy work and thy efforts, and mayest thou reap the reward of the just! Mayest thou obtain all the blessings thou desirest, and may that which thou askest be realized. . . ." <sup>43</sup>

Approximately eighteen years later, Celano related the same incident in a somewhat different manner.

"As all his brethren were sitting around his deathbed, he extended over them his right hand, and beginning by his vicar (Elias), he imposed hands on each of those who were present, through them blessing also his brethren who were absent, who were in all parts of the world, and those who were to come after them until the end of ages," and Thomas of Celano adds as a special warning to Elias: "let no one usurp to himself the blessing which he has conferred on the brothers present for the brothers absent; this blessing, as described elsewhere, may appear personal, but it must be understood rather as regarding the office itself." In another passage of his *Vita Secunda*, Thomas of Celano writes these words which are not less significant: "Who are those who announce themselves as strong with the blessing which they have obtained from the Saint and boast that they have enjoyed his intimate friendship? If — may this never happen! — they have without remorse exhibited in themselves the works of darkness to the peril of others, woe to them, for they deserve eternal damnation!" <sup>44</sup>

There is a vast difference between these two reports concerning Brother Elias. This discrepancy is not, as Sabatier claims, an open manifestation of Celano's partiality. In forming our conclusion, we must take into consideration the various conditions which existed

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43. *Catholic University Bulletin*, XIII (1907), 261. Cf. Celano, *Vita Prima*, n. 108.

44. *Ibid.* Cf. Celano, *Vita Secunda*, n. 156.

when Thomas of Celano wrote his two legends. When he wrote his *Vita Prima*, Brother Elias was a member of the order. He had not been excommunicated from the Church and had given no scandal. He had been a close friend of St. Francis, and also of Pope Gregory IX. It was only natural then for Celano to praise Elias and to put more emphasis on the facts concerned. As we mentioned earlier, one of the sources used by Celano was "trustworthy witnesses," and because Celano was not a companion of St. Francis during the Saint's last two years on earth, he received his information from the companions of the Saint. Perhaps it was Elias himself who related the circumstances of the blessing of St. Francis; and naturally he would lay emphasis on certain facts. We cannot say that Brother Elias deceived Celano, or made him relate incidents which did not really occur. For the number of friars present at the bestowal of the blessing upon Brother Elias was not small. Thomas of Celano probably gives us not the exact words of St. Francis, but rather the substance of the blessing.

When Celano was writing his *Vita Secunda*, on the other hand, Brother Elias was no longer a member of the order. He had been excommunicated from the Church. He had given scandal to the world. He had gone over to Frederick II, who "had burnt the town of Celano and sent its inhabitants into exile."<sup>45</sup> Can we blame Celano for not praising Elias as much as he had done in his former work?

What contradictions there are in the two accounts may perhaps be reconciled by the understanding student. In both accounts Celano states that the blessing was given to Elias by St. Francis on his death-bed: there is a difference only in the interpretation of the facts. In the *Vita Prima* we read: "As the Almighty has, through thy hands, multiplied my brothers and children, so I now on thee and through thee bless them all." Here the blessing "was interpreted as largely of a personal nature."<sup>46</sup> In the *Vita Secunda* Elias was blessed, "not as a private individual, but only in as much as he represented the whole order. Hence he should not arrogate to himself the glory of this blessing, nor will it preserve him from eternal damnation, if, by his scandal, he leads astray the children of Francis."<sup>47</sup>

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45. *Catholic University Bulletin*, XIII (1907), 262.

46. *Catholic University Bulletin*, XIII (1907), 263.

47. *Ibid.*

Celano writes in the preface of his first work that his aim is to tell the truth. Even though some historians have tried to prove that he was a biased writer, we may truthfully say that Celano has strictly adhered to the truth. Perhaps the future will reveal new documents and will give new information. For the present, the best original sources for a knowledge of St. Francis are still the *Vita Prima* and the *Vita Secunda*, the latter written exactly seven hundred years ago.

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## DISSERTATIONS

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## ITEMS OF INTEREST

On February 3, 1944, the Most Rev. Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor appointed a Delegate General for Spain in the person of Very Rev. Leon Villuendas, O. F. M., Definitor General, who at the time was in Madrid. Upon the elevation of Fr. Villuendas to the Bishopric of Teruel, Very Rev. Agust  n Zuluaga, O. F. M., Ex-Commissary General was appointed to succeed him (*Archivo Ibero-Americano*, April, 1944, p. 337).

On March 15, 1944, a conference was held in Madrid by the Circulo Cultural "Medina," the subject under consideration being, "La Civilizaci  n Azteca,

según el P. Franciscano Bernardino de Sahagún (*Archivo Ibero-Americano*, April, 1944, p. 344).

On March 21, 1944, Rev. Walter Duffy, O. F. M. Conv., passed his oral examinations and defended his thesis: "The Tribal Theory of Hebrew Origins," in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America (*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, July, 1944, p. 362).

As a result of the latest summer session of the Franciscan Institute at St. Bonaventure College, the National Tertiary Organization offered a scholarship for 1945 to participants in the course on "Franciscan Spirituality as Reflected in the Third Order." The scholarship was open to the 1944 participants, meaning actual students, or the theological school or the province they represented. It was in the nature of an award for the best essay on the "Vocation to the Third Order," and had a monetary value of fifty to seventy-five dollars in necessary expenses. The essay was to develop the thought of what type of prospects the average friar might persuade to enter the Third Order in view of its mission (*Franciscan Herald and Forum*, October 1, 1944, p. 316).

The *Giornale di Azione Cattolica*, quoted by the Vatican Wireless, says that there is very little damage in Assisi. "The Basilica of St. Francis and all the other sanctuaries dedicated to the Saint, and the town, with its public buildings and houses are safe. The preservation of Assisi appears to have been brought about by a miracle. In Siena likewise, there is very little damage" (*The Tablet*, July 8, 1944). However, it has been reported that the dome of the Basilica of Our Lady of Angels was hit by a shell.

The *Academia Catholica Sinica*, recently founded in New York City, aims at keeping apace of the opportunities of the Church in China and among Chinese people everywhere. The organization was founded by Father John Baptist Kao, O. F. M., and Rev. John T. S. Mao. Thirty members were enrolled at the inaugural meeting. All volunteered to translate a selected book from English and other languages into Chinese before the year is ended (*Catholic Mission Digest*, October, 1944, p. 21).

Cuba's First National Congress of Franciscan Tertiaries, organized by the Rev. Serafin Ajuria, O. F. M., and presided over by Rev. Basilio de Guerra, O. F. M., Commissary Provincial, was attended by more than 2,000.

A feature film, *Saint Francis of Assisi*, has just been released for loan. A 16 mm sound film of ten reels, it is available through Walter O. Gutlohn, Inc., 25 West 45th St., N. Y. C.

A dissertation will be published shortly by Emmett Rothan, O. F. M., in partial fulfilment for a doctorate at the Catholic University. His subject, "German Catholics in the United States from 1830 to 1860," was prepared under the direction of Richard J. Purcell (*Catholic Educational Review*, September, 1944, p. 442).

Rev. Cosmas Korb, O. F. M. Conv., has a collection of coins, including every coin, except two, mentioned in the Bible (*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, July, 1944, p. 362).

The Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine has appointed Stephen Hartdegen, O. F. M., Corresponding Secretary of the Revision Committee of the Old Testament. He succeeds the Rev. Dr. Patrick

W. Skehan, who continues as a member of the Editorial Board (*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, July, 1944, p. 363).

Dominic Unger, O. F. M. Cap., of Capuchin College, Brookland, D. C., was elected Assistant General Secretary of the Catholic Biblical Association of America during its eighth annual meeting held this year at St. Mary's College, Holy Cross, Indiana.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Philosophy of St. Thomas.* By Hans Meyer. Translated by Rev. Frederic Eckhoff. (St. Louis, London: B. Herder Book Co., 1944. Pp. viii+581. \$5.00.)

Students of medieval Scholasticism will welcome the translation of Meyer's work: *Thomas von Aquin. Sein System und seine geistesgeschichtliche Stellung*. There is no scarcity of comprehensive presentations of the philosophical thought of St. Thomas. Many scholars in various tongues have devoted their pen to the task of expressing in modern language what the great Aquinas has expressed in his medieval language for medieval times. Meyer's work ranks among the best, and hence it was a happy inspiration to make this work, which first appeared in German in 1938, accessible to the English-speaking reader. For it has certain features by which it is well distinguished from similar works.

With good reason the author sees in St. Thomas the eminent philosopher of order, and therefore he centers the main part of his work around the idea of "The Structure of Reality" ("Der Aufbau der Wirklichkeit") with the following subdivisions: "The Structure of Individual Things" ("Die Struktur des Einzeldinges"); "The Hierarchy of the Forms of Being" ("Das Stufenreich der Seinsformen und ihr Zusammenhang"); "Origin and Corruption of Things" ("Werden und Veränderung, Entstehen und Vergehen der Dinge"); and "Order in the Universe" ("Die Welt ein Ordo"). This main part is preceded by an introduction: "St. Thomas and the Thirteenth Century" ("Die Stellung des Thomas im 13. Jahrhundert — Die Struktur seines Denkens") dealing with "Historical Influences" ("Die geschichtlichen Quellen und ihre Verwertung"), "St. Thomas' Contribution to Philosophy" ("Thomas und die Eigenart seiner Leistung"), "St. Thomas the Man" ("Das Innenbild des Thomas, seine äusseren Kämpfe").

This original approach to the system of St. Thomas has prevented the author from dealing with the philosophical thought of Aquinas in the manner of a neo-Scholastic textbook. He presents it rather as living thought and as the fruit of a personal solution of the problem of Faith and Reason on the basis of a partly transformed Aristotelianism. It thus shows in bold relief the central intellectual virtue of St. Thomas: his reverence for facts and consequently for truth, regardless of any human authority.

The same virtue seems to have been in the author himself, since he not only praises St. Thomas for his great achievements — and he has many occasions for doing so — but likewise does not shrink from criticising, wherever he feels himself forced to do so. Thus it happens quite often that the author, who is well versed not only in Greek philosophy (of which he has written an excellent textbook and several studies) but also in Scholastic philosophy in general, does not fail to point out better solutions, offered especially by the Franciscan school and mainly by Scotus. This makes the work the more valuable for those who, though admiring the achievement of St. Thomas, nevertheless use the liberty granted to them by the example of Aquinas, to prefer certain solutions which they believe to be better founded in accordance with



reason and facts. Hence no Franciscan library should fail to place this book on its shelves. For it well represents the attitude recommended to the Franciscan lector by the Constitutions of his order: to follow wholeheartedly the Franciscan school and to hold St. Thomas in great esteem.

It is, of course, hardly possible, in a review of a work of this scope to go into details. Suffice it to say that all the problems of importance are touched on, the historical development briefly sketched, St. Thomas' contributions clearly brought out, and the further development indicated. It is remarkable how much material is condensed in this book of more than 500 pages dealing with such a vast subject. Text-references are plentiful, and many references to pertinent literature and Meyer's own previous studies are added. Unfortunately most of the latter and many of the former are omitted in the translation.

Though we pay our almost unqualified homage to the original work, we cannot do the same to the translation. The reviewer has checked many pages for correctness of translation. Though the general idea of the original is usually rendered into English, nuances, and often important ones, are missed. It frequently happens that sentences or parts of sentences are omitted. It may be well to illustrate this by examining a few pages dealing with: "The difference between man and woman."

We read (in the translation) on page 207:

"He was greatly influenced in this respect by the Stagirite's lack of esteem for women [the German original has the much stronger expression: "Degradierung des Weiblichen"] and also perhaps by the opinion of the age." The "perhaps" is not in the original, which however adds: "speziell seiner mönchischen Lebensverhältnisse" (p. 233). On page 233 we read in the original: "Worauf gründet Thomas seine Bewertung? Ausgangspunkt und Fundament liegen im Biologischen." The translation (p. 208) reads: "For this evaluation of man and woman St. Thomas relied on the contemporary conclusions of biology." Meyer does not say that the *contemporary* conclusions of biology were the basis for St. Thomas' depreciation of woman, but only biological considerations, viz., of St. Thomas himself, since the biology of the Franciscan school was different, assigning to woman an active, though subordinated, part in generation, and not restricting her function to the passive part of providing simply the matter for generation. This has important bearings on Scholastic Mariology. In the sentence: "Not only does woman contribute the less important part to the production of the offspring, but she has the weaker body," etc., it is not brought out that the first part of it is the reason for the second; for we read in the original (p. 234): "Mit ihrem geringen Zeugungsbeitrag ist der schwächere Körper . . . verbunden" (i. e., by an inner connection!). A little further on, the sentence: "In woman the concupiscible appetite predominates, while man is the expression of the more stable element," is a very inadequate translation of the original: "Im Weib überwiegt das Lustmoment [lacking in the translation] und der koncupiszbile Seelenteil, während der Mann den Ausdruck des muthaften Elementes darstellt." Apparently the translator was not aware of the ancient Platonic-Aristotelian names of the parts of the soul, which are used here. He should have used "irascible"

instead of "stable." On the same page we read: "Obviously, according to St. Thomas, she is unfitted to fill any position in the Church; she is not a full-fledged citizen because she cannot exercise any civil rights." The original reads: "Dass sie keine kirchlich-geistigen Aemter bekleiden kann, ist begreiflich [not "obvious" but "understandable"; the following "aber" is omitted and the opposition between the two points of this sentence obliterated] aber sie ist auch kein Vollbürger, insofern si keine staatlichen Rechte ausübt" (not "ausüben kann!"). On page 209, the following sentence of the original is omitted: "Der Mann kann ohne Einwilligung seiner Frau seinen Freiheitsstand und damit seine Rechtsselbstständigkeit aufgeben." At the end of the sentence (p. 209): "He thought that man would be able to perform household duties better than woman because he saw only brothers performing these tasks in his monastery," the rest is left out: "und auf den Klostergütern nur Sklaven." The following sentence: "His lack of appreciation of women as mother and wife is more amazing, as are his astounding views about women's souls and minds," is, to say the least, a very vague and weak translation of the original: "Weit schwerer wiegt, dass er die Wesensnatur des Weibes als Mutter und Gattin, ihre Seelenstruktur, ihre Seelenkraft und Seelenmacht, ihre wahre Bedeutung für Familie und Gemeinschaftskultur so wenig befriedigend herausgestellt hat" (p. 235).

Lastly, the index at the end of the translation is poorer than in the original. Not only Franciscans but others as well will be amazed to find under the heading: "Duns Scotus Eriugena" references to John Scottus Eriugena and John Duns Scotus.

In spite of these shortcomings, we recommend the translation of this work to all who are interested in having a true picture of St. Thomas and not merely an idealized one. It should have the wholesome effect of fostering a little more of the critical attitude in regard to Scholastic tradition than is generally in evidence.

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*A Realistic Philosophy.* By Kurt F. Reinhardt, Ph. D. (Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1944. Pp. xii + 268. \$2.75.)

This book is composed of two main parts, of which the first is apparently intended to provide a sustaining background or framework for the second. In the Introduction the author attempts to sketch with broad strokes the family relationships of philosophic schools and personalities. The result is not always felicitous. The history of philosophy cannot receive just treatment when limitations of space demand that judgments be couched in sweeping generalizations. Nor is it fair to dismiss a thinker with a label or a "tag." To cite one example, Ockham is discredited by being tagged as a Nominalist, as "despairing of the ability of human reason to establish criteria of true and false, of good and evil" (p. 6), as holding the theory of double truth (p. 9), as turning theology into "Theologism" (p. 25), as a fideist (p. 247), and

so on. Such criticisms seem to reveal the excessive dependence on the part of the author on secondary sources of questionable value.

Again because of over-simplification, chapters I and II ("Being and Reality" — Metaphysics; and "Human Action and Moral Values" — Ethics) fail to make any real contribution to an understanding of neo-Scholasticism.

Chapters III and IV (which deal with Political and Economic Philosophy) show the author on more familiar ground and make a definite contribution to topics of current interest. Dr. Reinhardt handles very competently the problems arising from "Human Action in State and Society" (chapter III), discussing the "Nature of Justice," "Man and the State," "War and the Moral Law," and similar questions of vital import today. His historical analyses of political theories and his philosophical scrutiny of politico-economical ideologies are stimulating, scholarly, and realistic. Indeed his realism in this section fully justifies his use of the word "realistic" in the title. In this chapter and in chapter IV (which deals with "Economics and Ethics," "The Dignity of Labor," "The Rights and Obligations of Ownership") he proves himself to be a capable expositor of the great social encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI, and a worthy contemporary of men like Christopher Dawson, Hollis, and Waldemar Gurian.

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*Humanism and Theology.* (The Aquinas Lecture, 1943). By Werner Jaeger. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1943. Pp. iv + 87. \$1.50.)

It might easily be a moot question whether the lecture here presented is of more interest to the student of Greek philosophy and humanism than to the Scholastic philosopher and historian. At any rate, it is certainly of importance for both of them, as well as for the historian of general human culture, offering as it does the balanced judgment of an outstanding classical humanist and student of Greek philosophy, on the Scholastic renaissance of the thirteenth century and the humanism of St. Thomas Aquinas. To accomplish his aim — the presentation of St. Thomas and the Aristotelian revival of the golden age of Scholasticism as a genuine instance of a renaissance of true humanism — the author gives a panoramic view of the history of classical culture and pursues its root in the central figures of Greek philosophy.

The philosophico-historical principle underlying the whole treatment is that there is no true or integral humanism that does not believe in the essentially rational nature of man or in the existence of the superhuman and the possibility of a rational approach to it. Humanism and theology, therefore, are not incompatible but mutually complementary; theology, as the rational knowledge of God, fulfilling the task formulated but unsolved by humanism, the ultimate meaning of life. The author is at pains to show, on historical grounds alone, that the sensist and completely anthropological, atheological humanism, accepted and fostered by many today, is in reality a throwback



to the Sophists and has nothing in common with the *humanitas*, the *paideia*, of classical humanism rooted in Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle (p. 51).

On the basis of such a thesis, developed in excellent detail in the latter part of the book, Professor Jaeger is able to gauge the importance of St. Thomas and the thirteenth-century Scholastics. That the Angelic Doctor is in the true sense of the word a humanist even in his very theocentric world-view is made evident from the new and intense evaluation of the rational aspect of human nature his doctrines inaugurated (p. 18). That in relation to the other renaissances of history, the work of St. Thomas shows itself to be a true humanistic renaissance is manifest by its approach to the classics of the past, its preference for the *auctores* rather than for mere textbooks, its honest and objective effort to understand them, and its use of new and direct translations for the purposes of commentary. Above all, like all true humanism, the humanism of St. Thomas sets forth the ideal of human life in such a way that it includes as essential the presence and operation of the divine (p. 35).

Though Professor Jaeger is concerned principally with the Angel of the Schools, it is evident that he does not intend to limit such statements as the foregoing wholly and exclusively to him, but wishes to embrace all those Scholastics who made the newly discovered monuments of ancient culture part and parcel of their system. For this reason he has caused the Middle Ages to be seen in a better light and what is usually called *the Renaissance* to be viewed from a truer perspective. And for this we thank him.

One wonders, however, whether such a statement as this can be characterized as Thomistic teaching: "In the hierarchy of this cosmos, what we call 'things' are the materialization of the ideal forms which are the essence and constitute the reality of everything" (p. 19). The expression "duplex veritas" (p. 69, n. 9) is misleading; it should rather read "duplex veritatis modus" (cf. *Contra Gentiles*, I, c. 3). And is it historically correct to say that "the concept of *formae substantiales* was introduced by St. Thomas" (p. 69, n. 11). One receives the impression from both text and footnotes that the author is much at home in the historical and humanist elements of his topics, but none too clear or sure in philosophical discussion touching on medieval Scholasticism.

IGNATIUS BRADY, O. F. M.

*Duns Scotus College,  
Detroit, Mich.*

*Molders of the Medieval Mind.* By Frank P. Cassidy, Ph.D. (St. Louis, London: B. Herder Book Co., 1944. Pp. viii+194. \$2.00.)

According to the author's explanation in his preface, the present book "is concerned with the influence of the Fathers of the Church on the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages." Since he calls every educational activity from the time of Boethius to Erasmus "Scholasticism," he can justly consider the predecessors of the Scholastics the Fathers of the Church. The object, however, of his study "is to point out the significance of the Church Fathers and their educational principles as molders of the medieval mind" (p. iii).

It appears to the present reviewer that the title of this book is, to say the



least, misleading. Except for a few very one-sided references to Scholastics (and principally to St. Thomas) the book deals entirely with the Fathers of the Church. The educational point of view is everywhere emphasized but not organically developed; hence it appears more as an addition to the work than as the leading idea suggested by the title. The book can best be characterized as a short textbook of Patrology with special reference to the educational ideas of the Fathers of the Church. How the Fathers molded the medieval mind is mostly left to the guessing of a reader who is acquainted with both Patrology and Scholasticism.

The first thirty-eight pages deal with the Roman school and Roman methods of education, and with Christianity and early Western civilization. After this, the life, main works, and some ideas of the Fathers are expounded. First, of the Fathers of the East: St. Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, the Three Cappadocians, St. John Chrysostom, Dionysius Pseudo-areopagite, and St. John Damascene. Then, of the Fathers of the West: Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Lactantius, St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine. A closing chapter discusses the Patristic attitude toward pagan learning, followed by a summary, an extensive bibliography and an index.

We call attention to some details, many of which are surprising. On page 26: "By revealing the immortality of goodness Christ held out to men the hope of a happy existence in the future and eternal life." On page 55, note 26, Phocalia should be Philocalia. On page 67: "St. Gregory of Nazianzus tells us that, while the three of them were students in Athens . . ."; as a matter of fact, Gregory speaks only of himself and St. Basil, and not of Gregory of Nyssa, who joined the two friends later. On page 96: John Damascene is called a "confirmed Aristotelian." This is certainly exaggerated, for Damascene's *Dialectica* contains also much from Ammonius and Porphyry, that is, much of neo-Platonist origin. To refer the three proofs of the existence of God which were repeated or compiled by Damascene to the five Scholastic (!) proofs is, to say the least, inexact. On page 98 we are informed that a part of the *De Fide Orthodoxa* of John Damascene was translated into Latin. The author probably means that a part, namely, "De Fide Orthodoxa," of the entire work was translated by Burgundio. It escaped the author's notice that the division of the *De Fide Orthodoxa* into four parts, as it is found in our editions, is probably due to the influence of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and not vice versa; and that among all the Scholastics, Alexander of Hales, O. F. M., is most deeply influenced by Damascene (p. 98). On page 157 the expression, "ontological argument," applied to St. Anselm's teaching is, in our opinion, an anachronism and misnomer. Franciscans will be flattered to read here also: "Robert Grosseteste, the distinguished Franciscan [*sic*] teacher at Oxford."

Nevertheless the book has value as an initiation into Patrology with regard to education in general. Some interesting points are brought out, though a great line of ideas is missing. The author deserves credit for having drawn our attention to something which we need badly, namely, a book on the ideal of Christian education written in the manner of Jaeger's *Paideia*. In spite of many attempts, made chiefly in special studies or general histories

of education, the history of the one great ideal of Christian education, varied under occasional divergent non-Christian influences, remains to be written.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O. F. M.

*Franciscan Institute,  
St. Bonaventure College,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

*History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name.* By Peter R. Biasiotto, O. F. M. (St. Bonaventure, N. Y.: St. Bonaventure College and Seminary, 1943. Pp. xii+188. \$1.50.)

Writing according to the strictest historical canons, the author of this valuable monograph has managed to breathe life into what might have been only dry bones of erudition. No doubt the fascinating subject-matter contributed not a little to this happy consummation, but the talent of the author is also, and particularly, responsible. No one, it is safe to prophesy, will begin this doctoral dissertation without reading it entirely. And no one will read it without admitting that Father Peter has come to grips with one of the most difficult problems in the history of the devotions of the Church. Probably not all will agree with all the judgments expressed, but all will have to admit that the writer candidly examines the difficulties, avoids no opposing arguments, and is remarkably moderate in his conclusions.

Father Peter's work is a model of clear organization. Chapter I gives an account of "The Monogram of the Name of Jesus," an account which for all its brevity teems with information and answers many questions which are raised about the IHS. In the second chapter, the author has gathered what the writings of Christian antiquity contain concerning the devotion. Admitting that the material is scanty, and that the devotion during this period is often indistinguishable from devotion to the person of Jesus, Father Peter has nevertheless found many beautiful passages in the works of the Fathers of the first seven centuries.

The rest of the monograph proper is devoted to medieval devotion (690-1456) to the Holy Name. In addition to a general survey (chapter III) we are furnished with an extremely interesting study (chapter IV) of the devotion in England. A chapter (V) is also devoted to the Order of Preachers. In chapter VI the author handles the abundant materials which history affords of Franciscan devotion to the Holy Name. Father Peter shows how this heritage from St. Francis was carefully guarded and increased during the centuries. Gilbert of Tournay, St. Bonaventure, and Francis of Mayron are some of those inscribed on this Franciscan honor roll. But St. Bernardine of Siena and St. John Capistran naturally receive the most extended treatment. They are, without contest, the brightest names in the long history of the devotion to the Name of Jesus. Father Peter does them full justice in a luminous narrative which culminates with the Battle of Belgrade—"the crowning episode in the annals of the Name above all names."

In a useful "Supplement" to this monograph the author delves fruitfully

into the history of Holy Name Societies, intent on discovering why the custody of the devotion is entrusted in our days to the Order of Preachers. Frequently here he finds himself taking issue with Father A. Bremond, O. P. While Father Peter has not proved his position in all respects, e. g., in the matter of the two Bulls of April 13, 1564, his treatise will serve to reorientate research on the subject and to indicate the path which a definitive solution of the problems involved must take.

Without doubt this book forms an important contribution to the literature on Church history in English. The author has a genius for assembling facts and he knows how to weave them into a readable narrative.

E. A. RYAN, S. J.

Woodstock College,  
Woodstock, Md.

*Sources of Franciscan History* (Reprint from *Documented History of the Franciscan Order*). By Raphael M. Huber, O. F. M. Conv. (Milwaukee, Wis.: The Nowiny Publishing Apostolate, 1944. Pp. vi+114. \$1.00.)

*Sources of Franciscan History* is a separate edition (in the form of a paper-bound reprint) of the third part of Fr. Raphael M. Huber's *Documented History of the Franciscan Order*. As it stands, the book is a complete unit, embodying the historical titles bearing on the origin and rise of the Franciscan order, and an evaluation of them.

The volume is nicely divided into three chapters. The first, the major portion of the book, deals with the sources for the life of St. Francis. Before beginning the lists of the sources themselves, Fr. Huber discusses the authenticity and reliability of these early Franciscan documents. Then follows a chronological table of source-dependencies according to the outline of Lemmens. Finally, the author records the individual sources, briefly describing each in turn. These sources fall into nine groups: 1. The Writings of Francis; 2. Early Legends; 3. Additional Minor Legends; 4. Early but Unreliable Sources; 5. Papal Documents; 6. Early Chronicles; 7. Literary Criticism; 8. Literature on St. Francis; 9. Bibliographies.

The second chapter is more general, and deals with sources for the order of St. Francis. Fr. Huber classifies these sources into eight groups. 1. Sources of the Order of Friars Minor (e. g. Bullaria, Monumenta, Statuta, etc.); 2. Early Annals and Chronicles of the Order; 3. Later Annals and Chronicles of the Order; 4. Modern General Histories of the Order; 5. Special Features (e. g. Privileges of the Order, Legislation, Martyrologies, Missiology); 6. Encyclopedias and Periodicals; 7. Official Organs; 8. Bibliographies.

The third and final chapter is a reprint of Archbishop Paschal Robinson's translation of the First (1209-1221) and Second (1223) Rules of the Order of Friars Minor.

Fr. Huber handles all his material well. Ordinarily one would expect to find merely lists of sources. In this volume, however, each source is given a brief description; and with it, as succinctly as possible, a schedule of the various editions of the work, as well as the best evaluations and studies in



the recognized Franciscan periodicals. To say the least, this required meticulous work. Even though sources are culled from all important modern languages, particularly in sections 7, 8, and 9 of chapter one, and sections 4 and the following of chapter two, the handy arrangement makes consultation of this work a pleasure.

Fr. Huber follows the traditional and generally accepted view concerning the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, and devotes some space to a discussion of the problem. He does not discuss Mr. Moorman's recent contribution, though he does mention his work elsewhere.

None will criticize Fr. Huber for being selective in certain lists and bibliographies. It is common knowledge that an exhaustive list of Franciscan literature (even titles alone) would run into several volumes. The outstanding fact is that Fr. Huber makes impartial choice of representative authors and critics, so that *Sources of Franciscan History* is a boon to all Franciscans interested in their own history; as well as to the many scholars who are equally interested in St. Francis and his followers.

NATHANIEL SONNTAG, O. F. M. CAP.

*St. Anthony's Seminary,  
Marathon, Wis.*

*Latin America: Its History and Culture.* By J. Fred Rippy and Lynn I. Perrigo. (New York: Ginn and Co. Pp. xii+426.)

This delightful handbook, intended to introduce Latin America to high school students, approaches the subject with the spirit of good-neighborliness and sympathy. The facile style in which it is written, the abundant illustrations, maps, and charts accompanying the texts, and the content-matter covering epoch and area, should give the young student a healthful appetite for further study and inquiry.

The book is divided into nine units followed by an appendix on pronunciation, bibliographies, activity suggestions, etc. The units are: "By Ship and Plane and Train"; "Twenty Nations"; "Before Columbus"; "The Conquerors"; "Independence"; "Dictators and Wars"; "The Yankee Peril"; "Recent Changes"; and "Good Neighbors." Thus the gamut of interest ranges from pre-Columbian culture to the Good Neighbor Policy.

The student is made to understand throughout that Latin American civilization is different from our own, while the reasons and background are given. Relationships between North and Latin Americans are discussed and viewpoints analyzed. The Catholic Church is given due credit for its civilizing and cultural influence, while American policy with regard to Latin America is from time to time gently called into question. A few paragraphs in regard to the Church might have been slightly altered in phrasing. There is no question at all as to the fair-minded approach of the authors.

MAYNARD GEIGER, O. F. M.

*Old Mission,  
Santa Barbara, Calif.*



*Educators' Guide to Free Films.* Compiled and edited by Mary Foley Horkheimer and John W. Diffor. (Randolph, Wis.: Box 226, Educators' Progress League, 1944. Pp. ix+192.)

This fourth annual edition is completely revised and brought up to date with 212 new titles, and 31 new sources of free films. Like its predecessors, this latest edition has the very helpful title, source, and subject indices, which enable the user to locate quickly any one of the several thousand films.

One of the new features, incorporated in this edition for the first time, is an authoritative introduction on the "Use of Films in the Classroom." One chapter is entitled "The Place of the Silent and Sound Pictures in the Classroom"; another is devoted to "The Use of Films and Slidefilms," while two subsequent chapters present some useful, workable procedures to be followed in connection with successful use of films in the classroom.

In his introductory section, Dr. John Guy Fowlkes, Professor of Education at the University of Wisconsin, gives some very helpful hints for effective use of teaching-films: how to set the stage, or prepare the minds of the students prior to the showing of the film; how to anticipate vocabulary difficulties; how to prepare self-inventories in the form of test-type questionnaires; and how to conduct discussions after the film is shown.

This volume is essential for every school using films, and will prove a time- and money-saver for everyone interested in visual education. It will repay its price many times over.

IRENAEUS HERSCHER, O. F. M.

*St. Bonaventure College,*  
*St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

*A Catalogue of Catholic Authors and Their Works in the Utica Public Library.*  
Compiled by John A. FitzGerald. (Utica, N. Y.: Catholic Information Society of Utica, 1943. Pp. viii+232. \$1.00.)

The average library rarely has an opportunity to advertise its little-known or forgotten, yet valuable resources. The research library consists of many such unusual volumes awaiting the day when a scholar will ask for them, and possibly find them "an answer to his prayer."

Since it is one of the principles of modern library service (I do not say "science," but use the term "service" which bespeaks the library's real function) to bring the right book to the attention of the right person at the right time, it is both interesting to examine, and a pleasure to draw attention to, a work recently published. The book under consideration serves this function well. Just as the library classification scheme helps a reader find most of the material in a given library which is placed together on the shelves, so this catalogue is a time-saver for the person looking for material that is Catholic. Although primarily intended for those who use the facilities of the Utica Public Library, this admirable piece of work will serve as a guide to many a librarian of other cities in locating Catholic authors and their works.

About 4,000 titles are arranged according to such categories as Religion, Sociology and Social Sciences, Fine Arts, Recreation, Useful Arts, Pure Science,

Literature, History, Fiction, Drama, Poetry, Biography, and Philology. The compiler included only books written by Catholic authors. Although it had been his hope to include annotations for each book, he had to forego this additional helpful feature because of the expense involved. Nevertheless he did include the following information for each item listed: Full name, dates of birth and death of the author, the title and date of publication, followed by the call number of the book. This last feature may prove helpful to the librarian with a collection of uncatalogued Catholic books, for it will enable quick assignment of a call number to a book. Also helpful is the insertion of the authors' initials, telling to what religious order they belong.

At the end of the volume there is a very useful checklist similar to the one published in 1940 by the compiler of this book, which he entitled: *List of Five Thousand Catholic Authors*. This latter volume has received many favorable comments, especially from librarians who realize the full value of such a useful catalogue.

It may prove interesting that although this book has nothing of a commercial character, yet librarians in over fifteen States have purchased it, and have been delighted with its usefulness.

The remaining copies of *Catalogue of Catholic Authors in the Utica Public Library* have been turned over to the Catholic Information Society of Utica to be sold for the nominal sum of One Dollar. With the proceeds a Catholic bookshelf has been installed in the Library.

It may not be out of place to mention that other cities have produced and found very helpful such catalogues of their Catholic books. Their constant use in such important public libraries as Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Baltimore, and Cleveland, testifies to their lasting value. About three years ago the Bridgeport, Connecticut, Public Library published such a catalogue.

IRENAEUS HERSCHER, O. F. M.

*St. Bonaventure College,*  
*St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

*A Study of the Physical Assets, Sometimes Called Wealth, of the United States, 1922-1933.* By Edward A. Keller, C. S. C. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1939. Pp. 141.)

*How We Live.* By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1944. Pp. 39.)

These two volumes — one old, one new — are in much the same vein. They try, by clever typography and format, to present simple ideas in simple words — and succeed remarkably well.

Key words and expressions, always selected from a basic vocabulary, are carefully separated from the context and set in the middle of the page; and by repetition of these key words and expressions the reader builds a continuity which otherwise would be difficult to establish. This scheme is excellent in that it emphasizes fundamental ideas; and, by weaving these fundamentals together, the pattern of economic thought is shown to be simple and closely integrated, but always logical.

*A Study of the Physical Assets of the United States, 1922-1933*, is unique in its simplicity. The object is "to find the truth about our material existence and to translate this truth into words so simple that anyone could understand it." This book has done all this, and more. Starting with the everyday facts of man's material existence, the application of tools, science and invention — these being interrelated — we are carried through the different parts of our economy and the term "wealth" is carefully applied. The author is precise about documentation, the last half of the book being statistical charts. The figures used throughout are from government sources, the author's premise being that these are the best records available. Many readers might wish that non-governmental records had been placed beside those the author presents for purposes of substantiation, or that the author signified some of the defects in the compilation of rival statistics. However, the absence of such comparison detracts but little from the object of the book.

*How We Live* is a story of the economic body. The authors' thesis is that if we know the component parts of our economic body, we can avoid behavior which will injure the nation's economic health. Any reader will find the book easy to understand, the terms being as common as work, natural resources, tools, employment, trade-marks, government and factory. The words "demand and supply," being an example of economic terms which can throw any argument into a meaningless wrangle, do not appear at all. Graphs and statistics are happily at a minimum. It takes about an hour to read the whole book, which is one of the few books that gives a complete picture without a single useless word. The continuity of this volume is outstanding — there is a logical sequence that forestalls argument by the very simplicity of its arrangement. An excellent economic catechism, every high school senior should be required to read it at home where the whole family can discuss it. Every social science teacher or enthusiast should review it often.

Neither of these books will replace the economic textbook in the near future, but they do set the pattern of things to come. Eventually basic texts must be rewritten with an eye to word-use. Meanwhile these primers will serve the purpose they claim to serve; we need many more of them.

JAMES L. HAYES

*St. Bonaventure College,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

## Books Received

HENRY HOLT AND CO., NEW YORK, N. Y.:

*Liberal Education*, by Mark Van Doren.

ST. ANTHONY GUILD PRESS, PATERSON, N. J.:

*Mirror of Christ: Francis of Assisi*, by Isidore O'Brien, O. F. M. *The Kingship of Jesus Christ*, by Ephrem Longpré, O. F. M., translated from the French by Daniel J. Barry, O. F. M. *Proceedings of the National Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine*, 1941.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

*Mary-Verse of the Teutonic Knights*, by Sr. Mary Ellen Goennor, A. M. *The Tribal-Historical Theory on the Origin of the Hebrew People*, by Walter Duffy, O. F. M. Conv. *The Categories of Being in Aristotle and St. Thomas*, by Sr. M. Marian Scheu, O. S. F., M. A.

EDUCATORS' PROGRESS SERVICE, RANDOLPH, WIS.:

*Educators' Guide to Free Films*, compiled and edited by Mary Foley Horkheimer and John W. Diffor.

B. HERDER BOOK CO., ST. LOUIS, MO.:

*Deaconship*, by Aloysius Biskupek, S. V. D.

ASSISI PRESS, DUBLIN, IRELAND:

*Measgra Mbichil Ui Chleirigh*, by Sylvester O'Brien, O. F. M.

MOREHOUSE-GORHAM CO., NEW YORK, N. Y.:

*The Church and the Papacy*, by T. G. Jalland, Ph. D.

THE BLAKISTON CO., PHILADELPHIA, PA.:

*The "Particles" of Modern Physics*, by J. D. Stranathan, Ph. D.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, PRINCETON, N. J.:

*Training in Christianity*, by Soren Kierkegaard.

SHEED AND WARD, NEW YORK, N. Y.:

*History of Archdiocese of Boston from 1604-1943* (3 vols.), by Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, NEW YORK, N. Y.:

*The Babylonian Talmud*, by Leo Auerbach.

TUDOR HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

*Papers in Legal Philosophy*, by Miriam Theresa Rooney.

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE PRESS, WOODSTOCK, MARYLAND:

*Form-Criticism of the Synoptic Healing Narratives*, by Laurence J. McGinley, S. J.

REV. JULIUS GRIGASSY, D. D., BRADDOCK, PA.:

*My Prayer Book...for the American Catholics of the Greek (Slavonic) Rite*, by Rev. Julius Grigassy.





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VOLUME 26

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 5

NUMBER 2

## CONTENTS

THE POINTED ARCH IN FRANCISCAN THEOLOGY .....	<i>Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M.</i>	97
CHRIST'S RÔLE IN THE UNIVERSE ACCORDING TO ST. IRENAEUS ....		
Part II .....	<i>Dominic Unger, O. F. M. Cap.</i>	114
OCKHAM'S THEORY OF TRUTH .....	<i>Philotheus Bæbner, O. F. M.</i>	138
PHILOSOPHERS AGAINST MAN .....		
.....	<i>Werner Hannan, O. F. M. Cap.</i>	162
FRAY MANUEL DEL SANTISSIMO SACRAMENTO, THE LAST FRANCIS- CAN IN KIANGSI, CHINA. ....	<i>Bernward Willeke, O. F. M.</i>	175
FRANCISCANA .....		197
BOOKS REVIEWS .....		207

*O'Brien, Mirror of Christ: Francis of Assisi; Van der Veldt, The City Set on a Hill; Biskupek, Deaconship: Conferences on the Rite of Ordination; Lewis, The Problem of Pain; Stranathan, Particles of Modern Physics; Justin de Montagnac, Le P. Alexis de Barbezieux; Georges de Quebec, l'Eglise Catholique au Canada.*

BOOKS RECEIVED .....	211
----------------------	-----

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## THE POINTED ARCH IN FRANCISCAN THEOLOGY

THE SCHOOLMEN of the thirteenth century were builders. Consciously or unconsciously they followed architectonic lines in the writing of their *Summæ* and commentaries. For, since at this period architecture was at a high level of development and of popularity alike, it was natural enough that the Doctor of Theology, as he paced to the lecture hall, loaded down with tomes as heavy as an "onus unius equi" as Roger Bacon taunts, and on his way passed sites where the walls and towers of a new cathedral were slowly mounting high into the heavens, should keep that picture in mind and build up his "questiones, membra, articuli" in similar fashion. In other words, he built a cathedral while he taught. And his cathedral was the temple of "Veritas revelata", embracing in harmonious synthesis "the blessings of heaven above, with the blessings of the deep that lieth beneath" (Gen. 49: 25). And the architectural patterns aided him to blend into order and harmony the contents of the Book of Nature with those of the "Sacra Pagina" or the Book of Revelation.

It was at this same period that the venerable and worthy houses of God of the Romanesque type gradually yielded, at least in



northern and central Europe, to the stately, symmetrical, and towering cathedrals of Gothic design. While the law of gravity has held down to earth all previous architecture, the masons and builders of the new design strove to make gravity an illusion and, in appearance at least, they succeeded. To combine physical energy, stern logic, and spiritual ecstasy was their aim. In consequence the human eye was presented with a dream — a mystery.<sup>1</sup> Thus the conquest of the spirit over matter was achieved by various architectural devices.

Coincidentally we witness in the schools a gradual passing from Patristic learning, from the method of collecting and compiling the religious lore of the past, to systematic philosophy and theology. Revealed truth, handed down faithfully through the ages, was being sifted and wrought into a compact, orderly synthesis. Saints Augustine and John Damascene had long ago furnished the blue prints for this new structure of theological thought and knowledge, but it was not until Peter Lombard had put forth his *Quattuor Libri Sententiarum* that theologians felt urged to proceed in earnest with the new program.

But if Theology borrowed its designs from architecture, the latter was not slow to borrow from the former a rich supply of content, if not originally the inspiration for the very design itself. On either side we see an urge upward — the "Sursum corda" of that great century. And although both walked hand in hand, Theology remained the Queen, while the other arts and sciences followed her as dutiful handmaids. As a matter of fact, there is evidence that architects relied liberally on the fourfold *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais, the time-honored *Physiologus*, the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor and other writings such as the popular encyclopædia *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomew the Englishman.<sup>2</sup> Many of them undoubtedly sought the personal counsel of the prominent schoolmen of their day. Father Boving<sup>3</sup> points out that St. Bonaventure, teacher at the Sorbonne and foremost pulpit orator of Europe, exercised a profound influence over

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1. Cf. E. H. Short, *The House of God, A History of Religious Architecture and Symbolism* (New York, 1926), pp. 193 *et seq.*

2. Cf. Short, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 *et seq.*

3. Remigius Boving, O.F.M., *Bonaventura und die französische Hochgotik* (Werl i. Westf.), pp. 17 *et seq.*

his royal friend St. Louis IX and the architects and builders of his Court in designing La Sainte Chapelle, the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris as well as those of Rheims, Rouen, Amiens and others, which were either built or completed during the years when the Seraphic Doctor lived or travelled in France (1239-1274). In fact, this author believes <sup>4</sup> that the flamboyant curves, the plastic forcefulness, the marvelous light effects, and the grandiose symmetry which characterize the French Gothic structures of that period were largely inspired by the man whose world outlook is reflected in this one sentence: "Ipsa rerum universitas fit scala ad ascendendum in Deum." <sup>5</sup> Some day, it is hoped, one of our young scholars will surprise us with the discovery that much of the fine symbolism in those glorious structures may be traced to Bonaventure's *Opera*, and will show us that the choicest among them is nothing less than the incomparable *Breviloquium* in stone. One can hardly cast a glance at the enchanting southern façade of Notre Dame but feel that this remarkable piece of workmanship reflects the spirit, if not the inspiration of the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*.

If simplicity is the predominant characteristic in Franciscan life, it is not surprising to meet that same simplicity on the academic cathedra as well. Franciscan theologians were, first and foremost exponents of the "Sancti Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Evangelium." <sup>6</sup> And it was that same simplicity which carried them aloft by the direct route of the "amor ille seraphicus" to a beautiful, transcendent idealism. Simple, fervent and transcending is St. Bonaventure's definition of Theology: "Veritatis ut credibilis notitia pia." <sup>7</sup> The simplicity, unction, and idealism of the Seraphic Doctor have imparted to Franciscan Theology an abiding trend. As builders, Franciscan theologians were caught by the unceasing call "Sursum corda" and, though constantly striving to mould into practical teaching the revealed realities of the Deposit of Catholic faith, they succeeded in drawing from "the good tidings of the unfathomable riches of Christ" and "the mystery which had been hidden from eternity in God" (Eph. 3: 8-9) new lines and designs

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 49 et seq.

5. *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, c. 1, 2 (*Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi, 1882-1902, V, 297).

6. *Regula et Vita Minorum Fratrum*, cap. I.

7. *De Donis Spiritus Sancti*, coll. 4, n. 3 (V, 474).

to adorn the Gothic cathedral of divine knowledge, then in the making.

It is of some interest to watch the earliest tracings of Franciscan thought in the sequence of subjects and the structure of the *Opera* of our Masters. Alexander, for example, places his treatise "De Gratia" not before, like the Lombard, but after "De Verbo Incarnato." In all likelihood the "Doctor Irrefragabilis" here bespeaks his leaning toward the affirmative side of the "motivum finale Incarnationis" and consequently to the opinion that all grace is "Gratia Christi." \* "Concedendum est", he writes, "quod et si non fuisset natura humana lapsa, adhuc esset convenientia ad incarnationem."<sup>9</sup> His pupil, St. Bonaventure, follows the general outline of his Master's *Summa*, and differs from Peter Lombard and St. Thomas inasmuch as he also treats "De Gratia Spiritus Sancti" after the chapter "De Incarnatione Verbi." In this way his unequalled *Breviloquium* — the briefest and likewise the most beautiful of all theological treatises of the scholastic period — assumes the shape of a graceful heptagon. The Incarnate Word is sheltered in the central hall, surrounded by the other six in harmonious symmetry.<sup>10</sup> To the Seraphic Doctor Christ is the center and focus of all things, visible and invisible. This thought has come to dominate the Franciscan School generally.

The mood of Gothic Art is most emphatically expressed in the Pointed Arch, which may well be regarded as the leading characteristic of this style. Structurally a powerful aid to the builder, this device symbolizes the eternal urge of humanity towards the world above.<sup>11</sup> It is not surprising that its counterpart should be found in Franciscan thought and theology. Father Déodat Marie briefly rehearses the work of the scholastic Masters as follows: Peter Lombard, he says, gathered the heavy stones from the quarry. The *Sentences* show the master architect's mind and hand. Alex-

8. See J. Pohle, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik* (Paderborn, 1905-1907), II, 169, 182 *et seq.*

9. *Summa Theologica*, III, q. 2 m. 13 (Cologne, 1622, III, 21). Cf. Romano Guardini, *Die Lehre des heil. Bonaventura von der Erlösung* (Düsseldorf, 1921), p. 42.

10. The seven divisions of the *Breviloquium* (Op. Om., V, 199-291) are as follows: I, de Trinitate Dei; II, de creatura mundi; III, de corruptela peccati; IV, de incarnatione Verbi; V, de gratia Spiritus sancti; VI, de medicina sacramentali; VII, de statu finalis iudicii.

11. Cf. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

ander of Hales makes the initial tracings; St. Albert the Great lays the foundation. SS. Thomas and Bonaventure raise and embellish the remainder of the mighty framework. But the work was not yet done. "Le treizième siècle," he continues with pardonable pride, "a créé la voûte ogivale."<sup>12</sup> But who was the daring architect to raise on high this "voûte ogivale" — the Pointed Arch?

For a moment we must turn back to one of the earliest opinions of Franciscan thought. Like many others it may be traced to the first teacher and episcopal friend of the Friars at Oxford, the learned and far-seeing Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of the University. He had placed himself firmly on the affirmative side of the heated and fascinating controversy of the day, which his own pupil and teacher of Duns Scotus, Friar William of Ware, posited in these words: "Utrum Filius Dei fuisset incarnatus, si Adam non peccasset."<sup>13</sup> Ever since, the controversy on the "Motivum Finale Incarnationis" loomed large in Franciscan Theology. Even if Adam had not sinned, it was urged, the Second Person would have come, not "in carne passibili," but "in carne gloriosa," as the King of God's works, the crown of all creation, the Ruler of the Universe.<sup>14</sup> It was Adam's Fall that had changed this glorious Canticle of praise and jubilation from its major key to a sad and mournful minor — the Tragedy of Calvary. After Robert of Lincoln, his Oxford disciples, Roger Marston and the aforementioned William of Ware, followed in his track. It remained for Duns Scotus to place the question on an entirely new basis.<sup>15</sup>

The Seraphic Doctor, though bold in his beautiful idealism and unexcelled symbolism, and above all in his mystic flights on the "primatus amoris," observed great caution whenever the Doctors were at variance. Most likely it was the firm stand of St. Augustine in his negative attitude towards the "motivum finale" that barred

12. Déodat Marie de Basly, O.F.M., *Introduction au Livre Pourquoi Jésus-Christ? — Le Vén. Duns Scot* (Rome, 1902), p. 90.

13. The question is treated exhaustively by Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M., in a paper contributed to the book *La Regalità di Cristo*. Longpré's paper, written in French, was reprinted under the title *La Regalità di Cristo in San Bonaventura e nel Duns Scot* (Milano) and was translated by Daniel J. Barry, O.F.M., *The Kingship of Jesus Christ* (Paterson, 1944). In the following we shall quote either the original or the translation, as the case may be. William of Ware treats this question in *III Libr. Sent.*, d. 1, q. 8 (quoted by Longpré, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

14. Cf. Pohle, *op. cit.*, pp. 164 *et seq.*; Longpré, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 *et seq.*; cf. David Baier, *The Franciscan Educational Conference*, III, 127-129.

15. Longpré, *op. cit.*, p. 22.



him from taking the part of either side of the question.<sup>16</sup> Consequently the architectonic framework of his theology did not rise to the heights of subsequent leaders in the Franciscan School. The temple which he envisioned was large and majestic. It was built on the solid foundation of the Scriptures and the Holy Fathers. Its portals were wide, lofty and imposing; its aisles spacious and long, and the walls and stately columns shone forth in the variegated colors of mystic warmth.

### THE KING'S THRONE

Father Longpré has demonstrated conclusively, with an abundance of proof and illustration, that the royal dignity and power of Christ were the core of Bonaventure's Christology.<sup>17</sup> As his theological heptagon, the unparalleled *Breviloquium*, reveals, the Seraphic Doctor places Christ on the royal throne "in medio templi tui." This was the architectonic blue print of his Theology. "Incipiendum est a medio, quod est Christus" is a phrase peculiarly Bonaventurian.<sup>18</sup> "Ipse enim mediator Dei et hominum est, tenens medium in omnibus."<sup>19</sup> In fact, in one classic instance, he invites the student to follow the seraphic flight of his imagination when he writes: "Imaginandus est Christus tamquam lapis centralis in toto corpore Ecclesiæ." The Church, he explains, must be visualized as a vast circle from whose circumference all lines must be drawn to this indivisible center of unity. For here they all meet at the "osculum linearum crucis in medio sui concurrentium in unum."<sup>20</sup>

While he admirably succeeds in embellishing his every line with exquisite grace and mystic colors, the Seraphic Doctor proves a prudent and reserved builder in that he carefully follows the pattern which, like Moses of old, he beholds on the mountain, namely, on the "Sacra Pagina" and in the tomes of the orthodox Fathers and writers. "As heir to the exemplarist doctrine of St. Augustine and Robert Grosseteste," writes Father Longpré, "St. Bonaventure places

16. Guardini, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 *et seq.*; Longpré, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 *et seq.*

17. *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

18. Cf. *In Hexaëm.*, coll. 1, n. 10 (*Op. Om.* V, 330); *Sermo I in dom.* 3

19. *In Hexaëm.*, *loc. cit.*

*Adventus* (*Op. Om.*, IX, 57, 59), etc.

20. *In Lucam*, c. 20, n. 23 (*Op. Om.* VII, 508).

the Word, the transplendent fountainhead of eternal reasons, at the center of causal relations, revealing acts and ordained ends which reunite the whole world to the First Cause."<sup>21</sup> Father Longpré has traced this line of thought through all the *Opera Bonaventuriana*. "Filius Dei", the Seraphic Doctor declares, "est persona media in Trinitate." To him Christ is, among the divine operations, the "medium in officio;" in the ontological order, the "medium essentialitæ;" in the supernatural order, the "medium vitale;" in the practice of virtue and perfection, the "medium morale," and even in metaphysics, the speculative, and all other sciences, He is the "medium omnium scientiarum."<sup>22</sup>

It is not the syllogism of Aristotle that has revealed the marvelous range of analogy among the sciences: rather, "it is Christ taken as the middle term of all our reasoning."<sup>23</sup> Christ stands as Mediator between the elect of the Old and of the New law; He is the "rational center" of history as well as the "natural center of the physical universe" — "tenens medium in omnibus."<sup>24</sup>

Thus, while the Seraphic Doctor majestically develops the doctrine of the Kingship of Christ by raising for Him "un incomparable trône d'honneur au centre de tout,"<sup>25</sup> he does nevertheless — unlike his teacher Alexander of Hales — "make the Incarnation dependent on the prevision of the fall of man."<sup>26</sup> Speaking architecturally, he is satisfied with the sombre cupola of Romanesque design which like a baldachino spreads over this royal throne of the King. The massive structures of old are still before his gaze. And

21. *The Kingship of Christ*, p. 5.

22. That this theme was the key note of Bonaventure's theology is quite apparent from the abundance of quotations which Father Longpré has collected from his numerous *Opera*, especially from his *Sermones*. In *Hexaëm.* coll. 1, and *III Sent.* (Longpré, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-17). Mark the following line from his *Itinerarium*, c. 4, n. 5 (*Op. Om.* V, 307): "Jesús Christus, simul est proximus et Deus, simul etiam rex et amicus, simul Verbum increatum et incarnatum, formator noster et reformatore, ut alpha et omega, qui etiam summus hierarcha est." Again, "Certe congruum fuit ut qui medium tenebat in throno, medium teneret in officio et qui medium in via fuerat creationis medium existeret in via recreationis, ut per Verbum mundus reficeretur per quod factus fuerat" (*Sermo I in dom. 3 Adventus, Op. Om.*, IX, 57).

23. Longpré, *The Kingship*, p. 10.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

25. Longpré, *La Regalià*, p. 17.

26. Longpré, *The Kingship*, p. 11. St. Bonaventure answers the question in a manner worthy of a great and humble soul: "Quis autem horum modorum melior sit, novit iste, qui pro nobis incarnatus est. Quis etiam horum alteri praeponendus sit difficile est videre, pro eo quod uterque modus catholicus est et a viris catholicis sustinetur" (*III Sent.*, d. 1, a.q. *Op. Om.*, III 21-28).

since Adam's sin still hung like a heavy cloud on the horizon, he was not ready for the Gothic sweep into the sky above. Another architect was needed who would draw a bolder design, the contour of which was the "Prædestinatio Christi," the opinion that Christ was before every creature in the plans of the Triune God, "ut sit in omnibus primatum tenens" (Col. 1: 18).

### THE KING'S HEART

When Scotus appeared on the scene, this question had not advanced beyond hypothetical speculation. The Church had not spoken, and there is no indication that she ever will. The hypothesis was no more than the bare contour thrown upon the canvas of theological reasoning. But while it was merely a contour, it elicited, nevertheless, keen interest and elevated the imagination to higher and bolder flights.

As stated above, Duns Scotus had been trained in a group of scholars who had been intrigued by the search into "the deep things of God;" by the sublime speculation of St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Anselm, and others.<sup>27</sup> The Predestination of the Redeemer in its hypothetical setting was the brush mark of a high pointed arch, which had riveted his fancy. Scotus proved master of the situation by ignoring the thin line of the hypothesis and drawing a heavy line of logical reasoning to the very top of the canvas. Instead of lingering over the moot controversy of the pros and cons for the "motivum finale," he put the forthright question: "Utrum Christus prædestinatus fuerit esse filius Dei?"<sup>28</sup> It is easy to see that the clarification of this question was certain to pierce even the heavy cloud which hung over the temple that the theologians of the early thirteenth century were striving to erect. Beautiful, symmetrical, majestic, this temple arose before their gaze. Christ was King, but the bells could only be heard in their mellow minor key: "Regnavit a ligno Deus."

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27. Cf. Pohle, *op cit.*, 166 *et seq.*; Longpré, *La Regalità*, p. 16; Guardini, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 *et seq.*

28. *Oxon.* 3, d. 7, q. 3 (Longpré quotes this text from MS 137 of the Public library of Assisi. Vide *Regalità*, p. 21). See *Joannis Duns Scoti Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1891-1895) XIV 348-359. We shall follow this edition, unless noted otherwise.

Once the Subtle Doctor had boldly reached into the eternal councils of the Most High to establish the eternal unconditioned and absolute Predestination of Christ, a bright rift in the clouds above cleared the way for an edifice whose towers might well reach into the blue sky above. Franciscan Theology generally and that of Blessed Scotus in particular may be traced to St. John's momentous declaration: "Deus charitas est" (John 4: 16). In numerous variations Scotus always reverts to what may be termed his fundamental thesis: "Vult Deus ex charitate primo bene sibi tamquam fini omnium."<sup>29</sup> The following passage sums up his doctrine with fine precision: "Dico ergo sic: quod primo Deus diligit se, secundo diligit se aliis et iste est amor castus, tertio vult se diligi ab Eo qui potest eum summe diligere, loquendo de amore alicujus extrinseci, et quarto prævidit unionem illius naturæ quæ debet eum summe diligere, etsi nullus cecidisset."<sup>30</sup> In this analysis of the metaphysics of divine love Scotus moves with ease and grace. The glorification of the divine essence is achieved by the all-surpassing love and homage of the Incarnate Word. But the seat or throne of this love is the Sacred Heart of the Redeemer. As Father Longpré says: "The immensity of the love of our Lord, independently of the love of all others, is the first and adequate reason of the Incarnation."<sup>31</sup>

It is readily seen how in this metaphysical setting the Kingship of Christ would rise to unprecedented heights in theological speculation. Bonaventure had visualized the "primatus Christi" mainly as the center: Scotus builds his Christology upon this very center, this "lapis angularis," and raises the whole structure to loftier heights. He carries out the design of the Pointed Arch. Through the hypostatic union Christ obtains the highest dominion — "eminentissima quæ potest esse sub principali potestate."<sup>32</sup> He is King of all, for "illi humanæ naturæ in Christo obligamur sicut dominæ nostræ."<sup>33</sup> Through His oblation on Calvary He has merited for

29. *Rep. Par.* 3, d. 32, q. 1, n. 10-11, *Op. Om.*, XXIII, 508.

30. *Rep. Par.* 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 9, *Op. Om.*, XXIII, 303. Father Longpré confirms this reading from MS. F. 69 of the chapter library of the Cathedral of Worcester (*La Regalià*, p. 25).

31. *The Kingship*, p. 16.

32. *Oxon.* 4, d. 43, q. 1, n. 9 (*Op. Om.*, XX, 518).

33. *Rep. Par.* 4, d. 48, q. 2, n. 9 (*Op. Om.*, XXIV, 607).

Father Longpré confirms this text from Vat. Lat. 4290 (*La Regalià*, p. 18).



us all grace — "Ideo multum tenemur ei."<sup>34</sup> His is an empire of love. He is King also of the angels: "Christus habet imperium efficax respectu potestatis angelorum."<sup>35</sup> Here again Scotus broke away from the more common trend when he asserted: "Concedo quod anima Christi est primum in hierarchia suprema."<sup>36</sup> "Ab hac [anima Christi]," he contends, "illuminantur angeli,"<sup>37</sup> and thus he enthrones Christ as the King of all. As Father Longpré observes, "the edifice would have been uncrowned if Duns Scotus had not corrected several lines of the plan."<sup>38</sup> In this crown the Kingship of Christ acquires hitherto unseen brilliance; the absolute primacy of the Sacred Heart is established; the universal sanctification of both angels and men through Christ is assured.<sup>39</sup>

Vital du Four assembles the features of this architectural design when in the work which is now commonly ascribed to him — *De Rerum Principio* — he builds up the creative structure of the universe and finally declares: "Et hoc est signum quod perfectio terminatur in puncto unionis verbi Dei ad naturam humanam."<sup>40</sup> The pinnacle of the pyramid narrows at the top because it terminates in one human nature, which is that of Christ. Meanwhile it surpasses all rational beings. "Conus autem, sive pyramis hominis, quo ligatur cum Deo, adhuc est minoris latitudinis extensive, qui fit in solo uno homine Christo, et majoris altitudinis etiam rationalis omni alio homine." "Videsne," he concludes, "ordinem rerum, et ligamentum ipsarum per modum pyramidis ascendentium."<sup>41</sup>

Father Déodat Marie calls Duns Scotus "the Theologian of the Sacred Heart." He has full right to this title, Father Déodat Marie argues, for the key of all his works was to set forth in luminous and convincing fashion the love of the Triune God for the Incarnate Word and conversely the love of the God-Man for the Blessed Trinity.<sup>42</sup> The doctrine of Duns Scotus crystallizes the

34. *Oxon.* 3, d. 20, q. 1, n. 10 (*Op. Om.*, XIV, 738).

35. *Oxon.* 4, d. 48, n. 10 (*Op. Om.*, XX, 520).

36. *Rep. Par.* 3, d. 14, q. 2, n. 25 (*Op. Om.*, XXIV, 354).

37. *Oxon.* 3, d. 14, q. 2, n. 20 (*Op. Om.*, XIV, 518).

38. *The Kingship*, p. 22.

39. Cf. Longpré, *ibid.*

40. We quote this work from the aforementioned edition of *Joannis Duns Scoti Opera Omnia*, IV, 452.

41. *Op. cit.*, p. 453.

42. *Op. cit.*, p. 91. Mark the influence of the doctrine of Duns Scotus on SS. Francis de Sales, Bernardine of Siena, Magdalen de Pazzi, and other notable writers (Cf. Longpré, *The Kingship*, p. 22).

intimate union which our Liturgy and our devotional life have established between the Feast of Christ the King and the Feast of the Sacred Heart. It is the royal Heart of the King Whose empire is an empire of love, and His sacred Heart is the seat of that love. The Encyclical "Quas Primas" (Dec. 11, 1925) bears ample witness to this thought and the Prayer of the day sets forth as our main goal "ut cunctæ familiæ Gentium, peccati vulnere disgregatæ; ejus suavissimo subdantur imperio." Hence it is quite in keeping with this doctrinal background that Christianity renew its dedication to the Sacred Heart on the Feast of Christ the King.

### THE KING'S MOTHER

While the theologians of the twelfth century were grappling with the problem of reconciling Mary's Immaculate Conception<sup>43</sup> with the universality of original sin and of Redemption, with the result that a wide chasm opened between the two sides, the firm stand of St. Bernard materially weakened the position which favored the belief in this exalted privilege of the Mother of God. Even the Seraphic Doctor, with the other leading luminaries, accepted, though with evident reluctance, the negative view,<sup>44</sup> and the Franciscan Peter of Olivi endorsed it categorically. Only the strongwilled Bishop of Lincoln, and in a certain measure, Raymond Lullus, held fast to the earlier tradition, which even William of Ware accepted only after his disciple John Duns Scotus had made his victorious debut.<sup>45</sup>

Thanks to the unremitting researches of Father Longpré and other Scotist scholars, the doctrine of Duns Scotus on the Immaculate Conception now makes a complete picture. The declarations of the Subtle Doctor on this subject no longer appear as fragmentary and casual statements, but as clearly defined, logical proposi-

43. The writer is deeply indebted for much of the following to the two treatises: Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M., *La Vierge Immaculée — Histoire et doctrine* (Montreal, 1939) and Carolus Balic, O.F.M., *De Regula Fundamentalī Theologiæ Marianæ Scotisticæ* (Sibenik, 1938).

44. Notwithstanding the "argumentum ex congruentia" the Seraphic Doctor accepts with his usual calm reserve the negative view as "communior, rationabilior et securior" (*III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2, *Op. Om.*, III, 68).

45. Cf. Longpré, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-16.

tions, all of which reveal a definite and well-rounded out system of thought and argument.<sup>46</sup>

As Father Longpré points out, Scotus does not base his proof on the well-known, exploited syllogism: "Potuit, decuit, ergo fecit." This seemed to be the popular battle cry of the School rather than of the Master.<sup>47</sup> Scotus disarmed his adversaries by driving to the very core of the question. The dogma of the universal Redemption by Christ was their stronghold, and by assailing the very heart of this stronghold, Scotus unbared the weapon which led to victory.

We may gather the trend of his thoughts from two leading statements of his, the one referring to Christ, the other to His blessed Mother. "In commendando enim Christum," he declares, "malo excedere quam deficere a laude sibi debita, si propter ignorantiam oporteat in alterutrum incidere;"<sup>48</sup> and again: "Si auctoritati Ecclesiæ vel auctoritati Scripturæ non repugnet, videtur probabile quod excellentius est tribuere Mariæ."<sup>49</sup> He followed these two lines of thought with fervor and ingenuity until he succeeded in effecting their juncture, at the very summit of the Pointed Arch, in the sublime mystery of the Immaculate Conception.

Scotus' argument is in the nature of an ingenious rejoinder whereby he draws his proof from the strongest argument of his opponents, viz., the "excellencia Filii sui; ipse enim ut redemptor universalis omnibus janua aperuit."<sup>50</sup> For precisely because He was the most excellent Redeemer He proved His excellence by performing the sovereign feat of preredemption in favor of the soul nearest to Him. Consequently, "ex excellencia Filii sui, in quantum redemptor, reconciliator et mediator" Scotus infers "quod ipsa non contraxit peccatum originale." Hence, rather than be withdrawn from the effects of Redemption, Mary was granted its richest blessings and noblest prize, as became her dignity as Mother and Queen.

46. *Op. cit.*, pp. 16 et seq.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Oxon.* 3, d. 13, q. 4, n. 9 (*Op. Om.*, XIV, 463).

49. *Oxon.* 3, d. 3, q. 1, n. 10 (*Op. Om.*, XIV, 165).

50. The texts quoted in this and the following paragraphs are found in the *Oxon.* 3, d. 3, q. 1, nn. 3-10 (*Op. Om.*, XIV, 160-165). A lucid summary of the arguments of Duns Scotus on the basis of these texts has been compiled by Parthenius Minges, O.F.M., *Joannis Duns Scoti Doctrina Philosophica et Theologica* (opus posthumum pro manuscripto: Quaracchi, 1930, 2 vols.), II, 390-393. Cf. Pohle, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-274; Longpré, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.; Béraud de Saint-Maurice, *Jean Duns Scot un Docteur des Temps Nouveaux* (Montreal, 1944), pp. 191-214.

His argumentation carries him to those same lofty heights where he had stood in search of the mystery of Eternal Love, and where he had placed the royal diadem upon Him Who alone could answer the call of infinite love: "Deus vult se diligi ab alio qui potest eum summe diligere." In seeking his major premise, he explores the infinite realm of the powers and faculties of the great Lover of God and of the human race: "Perfectissimus enim mediator habet perfectissimum actum mediandi respectu alicujus personæ, pro qua mediat." A note of royal chivalry and nobility marks the language of this bold syllogism. The minor premise is self-evident: "Sed Christus est perfectissimus mediator;" and the conclusion surged forth amid the acclaim of all Christendom: "Sed respectu nullius personæ habuit excellentiorem gradum quam respectu Mariæ." It was in effect the fulfillment of the Archangel's salutation: "Ave Maria, gratia plena" (Luke 1: 28). And the fulness of that grace redounded to the glory of the King in that it shines forth brilliantly in the knightly feat He performed in favor of His Mother. "Sed hoc non esset, nisi meruisset eam præservari a peccato originali." Thus with one stroke the Subtle Doctor vindicates the universality of both, the Redemption and the "debitum originale." There is an undercurrent of thought which connects the Predestination of Christ with the preredemption of our Queen and Mother.<sup>51</sup>

In the course of his thesis the Marian Doctor does not fail to reveal, even in his most subtle argumentation, a glimpse of the bond of love and heavenly affection that prevailed between the Blessed Trinity and Mary Immaculate, as well as between Mother and Son. Here Scotus furnishes the background of the Seraphic Doctor's vision of the Queen of heaven, "super choros angelorum et omnem creaturam exaltatam, regnantem cum Christo Filio suo in Trinitatis palatio."<sup>52</sup> Mary was established in the perpetual love of the Blessed Trinity. "Ignitur," writes the Subtle Doctor, "Christus non perfectissime placat Trinitatem pro culpa contrahenda a filiis Adæ, si non præveniat, ut alicui Trinitas non offendatur." Again, the Mother's love for her divine Son may be measured by the "summum bonum" which she had received from His bounty. In

51. Read the fascinating discussion of this point by Longpré, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 *et seq.*

52. *Soliloquium*, c. 4, 26 (*Op. Om.*, VIII, 66).



this Mary was favored before all creatures. "Immo," says Scotus, "excellentius beneficium est præservare a malo, quam permittere incidere in malum, et ab eo postea liberare." And if the divine Mediator merited for all souls the gift of redemption, "quare," asks the Doctor of Mary, "nulla anima erit ei debitrice pro innocentia?" This is in effect "innocentia illa," the Immaculate Conception, and the reason for the sovereign love between the Sacred Heart of the Saviour and the immaculate Heart of His Mother who, in the words of Scotus, "summe tenebitur Christo."<sup>53</sup>

While succeeding ages have not neglected to award to the Marian Doctor the palm of victory in the long scholastic struggle over the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, it is sometimes forgotten that the beautiful crown which he was permitted to place upon the immaculate brow of the Blessed Mother was, by his clear vision and ardent love, discovered among "the unfathomable riches of Christ" (Eph. 3: 8), of that "perfectissimus mediator" whom the same Blessed Scotus had previously hailed as the King of Love. Another ray of glory now flashed its brilliant light through the Pointed Arch in Franciscan Theology.

The way had been cleared for the solemn definition of this beautiful mystery. Sixtus IV, a son of St. Francis, spoke the mind of the Holy See in unmistakable terms. The teachers, preachers and the entire body of the Order closed their ranks to defend this choicest privilege of the "Regina Ordinis Minorum." Among them we hear the strong voice of St. Leonard of Port Maurice who devoted his life and labors to the end that Mary's privilege might be numbered among the dogmas of the Church.<sup>54</sup> This prayer was fulfilled in 1854.

### THE KING'S NAME

It was to be expected that in an atmosphere, such as pervaded the early Franciscan School, in which both mind and heart played their legitimate roles in conformity with St. Bonaventure's time-honored definition, "Veritatis ut credibilis notitia pia," the ancient

53. The text quoted in the foregoing are taken, as stated above, from *Oxon.* 3, d. 3, q. 1, nn. 3-10.

54. Longpré, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 *et seq.*

truths of Christianity would be set forth in unprecedented splendor and fostered with seraphic devotion. With the cry "Deus charitas est" the theologians of this school had soared upwards to search into the eternal counsels of God and had contrived to cause the full broad beam of Love Eternal to enter the temple of Theology through the lofty and lightsome Pointed Arch which had been ingeniously erected. The thoughts of these theologians reached forth into the realms of Divine infinity and immensity; their language was couched in the highest superlatives. As a result, we behold in the midst of this glorious temple, in splendor hitherto unseen, the Word Incarnate, the "imago Dei invisibilis," the "primogenitus omnis creaturæ" (Col. 1. 16), His Sacred Heart aglow with the Love Eternal, His throne bearing the insignia of predestined royalty, and the Queen standing on his "right hand, in gilded clothing" (Ps. 44: 10) of immaculate purity.

It was no surprise that in this same atmosphere the devotion to the Holy Name, which in its essence goes back to the cradle of Christianity, should blossom forth in its pristine beauty and freshness. Under the title "Jesus prænominatus" Ubertain of Casale opens his chapter on the virtues of the Holy Name. "Jesus is the name," writes Gilbert of Tournay, "of the All-wise Artificer of creation; of the All-loving Pontiff of the crucifixion; of the All-just Judge of heaven, and of the All-powerful King and Leader."<sup>55</sup>

From the days of the Seraphic Patriarch the roots of this devotion had been deeply sunk in the life and work of the Franciscan Order, but it remained for the two champions, Saints Bernardine and John Capistran, to raise it to a place of unprecedented dignity and the formal approval by the Church.<sup>56</sup> The false teachings of the day called for just such a revival. St. Bernardine understood the spirit of his age. Furthermore he was well schooled in the teachings of the Franciscan Masters. His voluminous writings give ample proof of his ardent belief in the absolute Primacy of the

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55. For the sources of the above quotations see Peter R. Biasiotto, O.F.M., *History of the Development of the Devotion of the Holy Name* (St. Bonaventure, N. Y. 1943), pp. 79, 86. We are deeply indebted to the author for his thoroughly scientific, comprehensive, and lucid treatment of a subject which is worthy of our closest attention.

56. Cf. Biasiotto, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 *et seq.*

Sacred Heart in the divine plan, in Christ's Eternal Kingship, in Mary's Immaculate Conception.<sup>57</sup>

In his "Sermo de universali regno et dominio Christi"<sup>58</sup> St. Bernardine dwells at length on what appears to be one of his favorite themes. After declaring that the first reason for creation was God's desire to communicate Himself to others, he proceeds: "Secunda autem ratio quare Deus cuncta creavit est propter Christi exaltationem." "Nam principalis natura," he continues, "in creatione intenta a Deo ab æterno fuit quam ipse prædestinavit ad personalem unionem."<sup>59</sup> For Christ's glory and honor God created all things.<sup>60</sup> To the Angels, St. Bernardine teaches, was revealed the mystery of the Incarnation, and this revelation caused the dire lot of Lucifer and his cohorts.<sup>61</sup> It is a matter of history that this belief has gained wide acceptance since Bernardine's day. Meanwhile the happy lot of the good angels was another reason "unde illi [Christo] fabricatur corona gloriosa et honorata."<sup>62</sup>

It is significant that St. Bernardine visualizes the Holy Name in its fullest splendor when he places it on the brow of the Eternal King. This theme is graphically set forth in his "Sermo de Pugna Paradisi, sive cœlestis Jerusalem."<sup>63</sup> There are two standard bearers, Saints Paul and Francis: "Primus est Apostolus Paulus qui gestat per universum mundum vexillum Regis, quod est nomen Jesu."<sup>64</sup> The soldiers of the vast army wear helmets "cum nomine Jesu."<sup>65</sup> The grand climax is the rousing cry from the multitude: "Vivat, vivat Rex æternus, et Dominus Jesus Christus in sæcula sæculorum."<sup>66</sup>

To St. Bernardine the Holy Name symbolizes "filialis Dei timor."<sup>67</sup> In fact, he gathered in this devotion all the powers, graces and charms of our holy religion. Given to our King from

57. Cf. Longpré, *La Regalità*, p. 35; *La Vierge Immaculée*, pp. 53-54.

58. We quote from De La Haye's edition: *Sancti Bernardini Senensis Opera Omnia* (5 tom., Venet., 1745), I, 283-287.

59. *Loc. cit.*, p. 284.

60. *Loc. cit.*, p. 285.

61. *Op. cit.*, I, 262, 286.

62. *Loc. cit.*, p. 287.

63. *Op. cit.*, I, 312-319.

64. *Loc. cit.*, p. 313.

65. *Loc. cit.*, p. 314.

66. *Loc. cit.*, p. 316.

67. *Loc. cit.*, p. 314.

all eternity,<sup>68</sup> this Holy Name stretches for its empire to all the works of God, "in sententia et virtute quidquid cælum et terra continet, in se concludit."<sup>69</sup> It is the sign and symbol of universal rulership: "habet altam dominationem, quia in nomine ejus flectitur omne genu cælestium Angelorum, terrestrium hominum, et infernorum dæmoniorum."<sup>70</sup> Needless to say, the "Triumphus SS. Nominis Jesu" has adorned the temple of Franciscan Theology with excelling brilliance.

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68. *Op. cit.*, I, 266.

69. *Op. cit.*, I, 278.

70. *Op. cit.*, I, 266.



# CHRIST'S RÔLE IN THE UNIVERSE ACCORDING TO ST. IRENAEUS

## PART II

### 6. CHRIST IS THE SAVIOR FROM THE BEGINNING OF CREATION

THAT Christ Jesus is the Mediator of our entire supernatural life and that from the very creation of man, is what we have been trying to establish so far. But is not that denied by St. Irenaeus himself when he says repeatedly that Christ came to save man? Our great Doctor of Christ states repeatedly that Christ is Saviour, that the Word became man to give us salvation, to save us.<sup>1</sup> What does he mean by those expressions? Does he mean that Christ redeemed us, freed us from Satan? Yes, the acts whereby Christ is said to have saved us indicate that man was in a state of sin and of servitude from which he had to be freed. For instance, Jesus saved us through his sufferings;<sup>2</sup> especially through His death by crucifixion.<sup>3</sup> He saved us by freeing us from the slavery of Satan.<sup>4</sup> Christ came to call sinners to repentance as a physician comes to heal the sick, according to Luke 5, 31 *et seq.*<sup>5</sup> His name is Jesus because he saved us from sins, according to Matthew 1, 21."

In the mind of St. Irenaeus, then, salvation means liberation from sin. That is stated explicitly or implicitly also in the passages we shall quote presently. However, from these passages it will be just as evident that liberation from sin is not the only, or even the more important element in salvation; there is a very positive note in the notion of salvation. The removal of sin is merely the clearing of the way. Salvation is as positive as well-being (*salus* — σωτηρία).

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1. Cf. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 1, c. 10, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 750); lib. 3, c. 9, n. 3 (7, 871); c. 16, n. 2, (7, 919); lib. 4, c. 33, n. 1 (7, 1072); c. 41, n. 4 (7, 1118).

2. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 1, c. 9, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 541); c. 10, n. 3 (7, 553); lib. 4, c. 33, n. 12 (7, 1081); and *passim*.

3. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 12, n. 4 (P. G. 7, 777 *et seq.*); lib. 4, c. 8, n. 2 (7, 994); c. 28, n. 3 (7, 1063).

4. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. c. 23, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 961); c. 18, n. 6 (7, 936); lib. 5, c. 2, n. 1 (7, 1124).

5. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 5, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 859).

6. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 16, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 921).

Our Doctor speaks of Christ's binding Satan, but he also speaks of His giving us salvation; that is, something positive, a real participation in incorruptibility, a glorious body and soul.<sup>7</sup> This salvation was effected by communion of the eternal Word with human nature,<sup>8</sup> by the reception of the unction of the Holy Spirit;<sup>9</sup> that is, by grace. Grace is the nourishment of salvation, which is itself perfect well-being in glory.<sup>10</sup> This note of eternal glory is the most important note of salvation. In the list of acts that contribute to man's salvation, the reception of eternal life as an inheritance<sup>11</sup> is the crowning act. In fact, salvation means enjoying eternal life.<sup>12</sup> Salvation, therefore, is as positive as life itself, and eternal life is the most perfect mode of well-being (*σωτηρία*) that man can ever possess. The Savior will come on the last day to raise the dead to life and to manifest their salvation.<sup>13</sup> The giving of glory to the body on that day will be the final act of the Savior in His work of saving man and that act will be eternal:

Who [Christ Jesus] because of His surpassing love towards His creation, suffered to be born of the Virgin; He, through Himself, uniting man with God and having suffered under Pontius Pilate, rising again, and having been taken up in the brightness of glory will come in glory as the Savior of those who are saved and the Judge of those who are judged.<sup>14</sup>

"Are saved" is here in opposition to "are judged," and so it means to glorify, just as salvation means glory in opposition to judgment.<sup>15</sup> And certainly this final act of Jesus makes Him Savior in the most perfect sense of the word. Glory is not only the final and culminating point in the series of acts that pertain to salvation, it is salvation *simpliciter*:

He ordered us to follow Him, not because He needed our service, but because He willed to bestow salvation on us. For to follow the Savior is to partake of salvation... He grants life and incorruption and eternal glory to those who follow and serve Him...<sup>16</sup>

7. *Ibid.*, c. 18, n. 7 (P. G., 7, 937).

8. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 14, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1161).

9. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 9, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 871).

10. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 13, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1009).

11. *Ibid.*, c. 28, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1063).

12. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 2, c. 34, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 836); c. 20, n. 3 (7, 777 *et seq.*); lib. 4, c. 14, n. 1 (7, 1010).

13. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 16, n. 6 (P. G., 7, 926).

14. *Ibid.*, c. 4, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 856).

15. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 33, n. 15 (P. G., 7, 1083).

16. *Ibid.*, c. 14, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1010).

The Incarnate Word, who is called our salvation, is precisely such because He gives us the gift of eternal glory:

...and His salvation, that is, His Word, He made visible to all flesh, Himself becoming incarnate, in order that their King might become manifest in all things. For it is proper that those who are judged should see their judge and should know him by whom they are to be judged; and it is proper, too, that those who obtain glory should know Him who bestows on them the gift of glory.<sup>17</sup>

One thing is certain, in St. Irenaeus *save* and *salvation* are not synonymous with *liberate* and *liberation*. We shall show that he uses these words in a sense that excludes the idea of liberation from sin. We are living in the fallen-redeemed state of mankind. Before we can enjoy the gifts of salvation proper, our souls must first be cleansed from sin; in fact, Christ first had to redeem us on the Cross. This sequence of ideas according to the order of execution of the divine plan prevails in Scripture and in patristic and theological literature. We have, therefore, become so accustomed to using the word *salvation* for the entire process of redemption that some forget what the radical meaning of *save* is. They take *redeem* and *redemption* as entirely synonymous with *save* and *salvation*. However, a good Latin or Greek dictionary will soon disillusion one of such an idea. In Greek, the language of St. Irenaeus, *σώζειν* and *σωτηρία* mean primarily preserve and preservation. These words do, therefore, not necessarily presuppose a fallen state. In fact, they are more properly used for the state of preserved innocence. And Christ could be Savior of the Angels who never fell and of Mary whom He preserved and also of Adam in the state of innocence.

St. Irenaeus tells us that the Creator saved Noah.<sup>18</sup> Now Noah was not liberated from the flood; he was preserved from it. Again, Enoch is said to have been conserved because he was transferred to salvation:

Enoch, too, being pleasing to God without circumcision, functioned as ambassador to the angels although he was a man, and was translated and is preserved until now as a witness of the just judgment of God; because

17. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 9, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 869).

18. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 2, c. 30, n. 9 (P. G., 7, 822).

the angels who had transgressed fell to earth in punishment [*judicium*], but the man who was pleasing [to God] was translated unto salvation.<sup>19</sup>

This positive meaning of *σωτηρία* also enters the notion of sanctification and glorification. It is certain that the heretics against in its primitive meaning *σωτηρία* whom St. Irenaeus argued, used of well-being. With them it was a question of elevating man to a higher state, of perfecting him, of giving him incorruption. Incorruption was for them synonymous with salvation.<sup>20</sup> They prescinded from the idea of liberation from sin, as is clear from the fact that they maintained that bodies were incapable of salvation, not because of sin, but by their very nature; the souls, on the other hand, were by their very nature incapable of not receiving incorruption.<sup>21</sup> St. Irenaeus refuted that error and insisted that the body is quite capable of receiving salvation,<sup>22</sup> and that salvation is precisely incorruption of the body:

Vain, however, in every regard are they who despise the entire economy of God and deny salvation to the flesh and spurn its regeneration, asserting that it is incapable of incorruption.<sup>23</sup> For what reason did he have to heal members of the flesh and to restore them to their original status if these members which had been healed by Him, could not be saved?... Or, should flesh not be capable of receiving the life which flows from Him, though it received healing from Him? For life is brought about through healing, and incorruption through life. He, therefore, who heals, He also [gives] life, and He [who gives] life, He also surrounds His own handiwork with incorruption.<sup>24</sup>

In conclusion to these considerations we can say that St. Irenaeus views salvation as something primarily positive and not necessarily connected with sin. Salvation, incorruption, perfection of the body, was willed by God for man at the creation of man, before there was any sin; consequently, this salvation did not involve liberation from sin.

We must now consider two texts that directly touch our problem

19. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 16, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1016).

20. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 1, c. 6, nn. 1-2 (P. G., 7, 503-506); lib. 4, Praef., n. 4 (7, 975); c. 37, n. 6 (7, 1099).

21. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 1, c. 6, nn. 1-2 (P. G., 7, 503-506).

22. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 1, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1122); lib. 4, c. 41, n. 4 (7, 1118); lib. 5, c. 12, n. 4 (7, 1155).

23. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 2, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1124).

24. *Ibid.*, c. 12, n. 6 (P. G., 7, 1155 et seq.).



of Christ as Savior from the beginning. In the first of these, St. Irenaeus is proving that man's flesh is capable of salvation. He said that St. Luke's genealogy shows that Christ recapitulated all peoples even from Adam. Then he continues:

Hence Paul, too, styled Adam himself "the figure of him who was to come," [Rom. 5, 14] because the Word as Maker of all things had formed beforehand for Himself the future economy of the human race in relation with the Son of God; namely, God formed beforehand the first man as a natural man in order that he might be saved by the spiritual man. For inasmuch as the Savior [*salvans*] pre-existed, it was proper that that which was to be saved should also exist so that the Savior would not be in vain.<sup>25</sup>

Our Doctor is saying that Adam was called the type of the future Christ because the Word who planned everything also planned to make the natural man, Adam, that he might be saved by the spiritual man, Christ, whom the eternal Word already then foresaw. Why that? Because it was proper that that which should be saved; namely, man, should come into existence so that the Savior would not be without a purpose. Consequently, St. Irenaeus clearly implies that the Savior existed in God's mind prior to man, and man was willed so that the Savior would have someone to save. It is certain that the Savior here is not merely the Word as such. The Word Incarnate is Savior according to the entire theology of St. Irenaeus.

What, then, does this office of Savior imply? Some would answer that the Savior redeems. However, that would imply that Christ was willed as liberator from sin prior to the willing of man; then man, who would have to fall into sin at some time, was willed so that the Christ-Savior who was already decreed as Redeemer, would have whereon to exercise His office of Redeemer. But such an error is far from St. Irenaeus. Man was willed first to glory and only then was sin permitted.<sup>26</sup> What about the Savior, then,

25. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 22, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 958): "Unde et a Paulo [Rom. 5, 14] typus futuri dictus est ipse Adam, quoniam futurum circa Filium Dei humani generis dispositione in semetipsum fabricator omnium Verbum praeformaverat, praeformante Deo primum animale hominem, videlicet; ut a spirituali salvaretur. Cum enim praeexisteret slavans, oportebat et quod salvaretur fieri, uti non vacuum sit slavans."

26. Joannis Baptista a Parvo-Bornand, O.F.M.Cap., *Proludium de Primatu Domini Nostri Jesu Christi et Causa Motiva Incarnationis*; translated from the French by Ambrosius a Saldes, O.F.M.Cap. (Barcinone, apud Subirana Fratres, 1902), p. 228 *et seq.*

who according to St. Irenaeus was willed prior to man? He would in reality not have been willed before man.

A number of authors who lean on Suarez for their view of the incarnation, give a different twist to this passage. P. Galtier, S.J., says of it: "Ad verbum fere enunciat sententiam nostram. Adamum vult ideo creatum esse salvandum, quia Filius Dei præexistiterit ab æterno Salvator."<sup>27</sup> He, however, maintains that the motive of redemption is so tied up with the motive of Christ's glory that if there had been no need of redemption there would have been no Christ. And this opinion he reads into St. Irenaeus. Savior would then also include the notion of Redeemer. Father Verrielle follows Father Galtier in his theory of the incarnation and has the same interpretation of this passage.<sup>28</sup> L. Escoula, S.J., practically defends the same interpretation. He, too, admits that all creation is bound up with the Word Creator and Savior;<sup>29</sup> still he emphasizes that this Savior is Redeemer.<sup>30</sup> Both Verrielle and Escoula criticize D'Ales, S.J., and Vernet, who follows him,<sup>31</sup> for conceding too much to the Scotists in this passage. D'Ales had written, "Ayant voulu le Sauveur; avant même d'être le type d'une humanité régénérée le Christ est le prototype d'une humanité parfaite selon Dieu."<sup>32</sup> And in this D'Ales sees the future position of the Scotists. However, he thinks there is an apparent contradiction between this passage and that of book 5, ch. 14, n. 1 (which we shall discuss presently). He thinks in this passage it is stated clearly that there would be no Christ if there were no sin from which to redeem man. He solves the apparent contradiction as follows:

On peut, en effet, supposer qu'Irenée distingue dans les conseils divins plusieurs plans et plusieurs ordres. Il aurait admis d'abord un ordre idéal ou d'intention premier, selon lequel le type du Verbe Incarné présent à la pensée divine, domine la conception de l'humanité possible, et puis un

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27. P. Galtier, S.J., *De Verbo Incarnato et Redemptore* (Beauchesne, Parisii, 1926), p. 477.

28. Verrielle, "Le plan de salut d'après saint Irenée," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, XIV (1934), 502 and 516.

29. L. Escoula, S.J., "Le Verbe Sauveur et Illuminateur chez saint Irenée," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, LXVI (1939) 388, f. n. 3.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

31. Vernet, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, art. "Irenée," col. 2470.

32. D'Ales, S.J., "La doctrine de la récapitulation en S. Irenée," *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, VI (1916) 191.

ordre réel ou d'exécution, selon lequel le décret efficace de l'Incarnation est subordonné à la prévision du péché.<sup>33</sup>

Verriél rejects that explanation, and rightly so. St. Irenaeus cannot be speaking of such a set of plans because the order of execution for God, as for every intelligent being, must correspond to the order of intention. That which God planned must be carried into execution. He could not have intended an ideal order without sin and Redeemer, and then actually have executed the real order with sin and Redeemer.

This second group of authors, therefore, agrees that St. Irenaeus is speaking of Christ-Savior as prefigured already in the state of innocence, and willed by God as Mediator from the beginning; but for them He is there immediately as Redeemer-Savior. So, as a matter of fact, they fall into the error of the first opinion; namely, that God willed Christ as Redeemer and after that man who would sin, so that Christ could redeem him. Besides, they are involved in Suarez' theory that Christ was willed both as the End of all creation and as Redeemer from the very beginning so that there would have been no Christ if there had been no sin. But this theory is untenable, as most authors will admit. It involves a contradiction. If God willed Christ prior to man as the End and Mediator of all creation and also as Redeemer, Christ would either have had to come even if Adam had not sinned, because He was already actually operating as Mediator of innocent Adam; or He would come only in case Adam would sin, and He could then not operate as Mediator and End prior to the sin of Adam. He could not have been intended as such before the prevision of Adam's sin.

What, then, is the meaning of this passage of St. Irenaeus? It was proved above that St. Irenaeus uses the word *σωτηρία* in its primitive meaning of well-being in incorruptible life. In view of this, the passage has a rather simple but sublime meaning. *Salvans* would mean "He who gives incorruptible life." And Christ was destined to that office from the beginning, not merely after the fall. Man was willed for the Savior's sake, so that He could exercise that glorious office. Consequently, Adam was never intended as independent principle, as self-sufficient Mediator, of the spiritual

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33. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

life apart from Jesus, as also Father Verrielle noted. Jesus was always intended to be the principle of the spiritual life. In fact, this passage, since it really does not make logical sense in any other interpretation, is itself a very strong proof that *salvans* is used by St. Irenaeus in its primitive meaning exclusive of liberation from sin.

Now what about the passage that caused Father D'Ales some difficulty? It is a stronghold of those who hold the redemption theory about the motive of the incarnation. According to their interpretation it is a rather strong, if not decisive, argument against the Franciscan view. St. Irenaeus is proving against the Gnostics that man's flesh is capable of receiving salvation. The heretics argued from the text of St. Paul: "Flesh and blood can obtain no part in the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. 15, 50), to prove that flesh was not capable of receiving salvation. St. Irenaeus retorts that St. Paul does not exclude the flesh from salvation by that passage because the same Apostle often speaks of Christ as having flesh and blood; and he does so

... partly to prove His human nature (for He called Himself Son of Man); partly to confirm the salvation of the flesh. For if flesh were not capable of being saved, the Word of God would by no means have become flesh. And if the blood of the just were not capable of being sought out, the Lord would by no means have had blood.... He would, however, not seek it out, unless it were capable of being saved....<sup>34</sup>

Here, say the opponents, is a most clear assertion that the Son of God would not have become man if our flesh and blood would have had no need of salvation; which, in other words, means: if man had not sinned and were not in need of redemption, the Son of God would not have become man. But that interpretation is quite false. There is here no question of the necessity of salvation, but of the possibility.<sup>35</sup> Of course, the expression *habere salvari* if abstracted from its context could express necessity of salvation,

34. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 14, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1160 *et seq.*): "Aliquid quidem uti hominem ejus statueret (et enim ipse semetipsum Filium dicebat hominis); aliquid autem, uti salutem carnis confirmaret. Si enim non haberet caro salvari, nequaquam Verbum Dei caro factum esset. Et si non haberet sanguis justorum inquiri, nequaquam sanguinem habuisset Dominus... Non autem exquireretur hoc, nisi et salvari haberet..."

35. Cf. P. Galtier, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 477, f. n. 1; also Verrielle, *op. cit.*, p. 501.



just as *habebat nasci ex muliere* (used by St. Irenaeus himself)<sup>36</sup> certainly means "had to be born." However, a dictionary will inform us that *habere salvati* (ἔχειν σωζέσθαι) can also express the possibility of salvation. The proximate and remote context of our passage prove conclusively that that is the meaning here and also in book 5, ch. 12, n. 6, where he writes, "si non habebant salvati."<sup>37</sup> As for the proximate context, St. Irenaeus began chapter 14 with the express purpose of refuting the Gnostics who claimed that St. Paul favored them in saying that flesh is not capable of receiving salvation. As for the remote context, the entire book five deals chiefly with this same problem — the possibility of saving flesh. Hence, by no means does St. Irenaeus argue: Man's flesh is *capable* of salvation because Christ had true flesh; for the Word would never have assumed flesh if it had not been *necessary* to save it. He argues: Man's flesh is *capable* of being saved because Christ had true flesh; for the Word would never have assumed flesh if flesh were not *capable* of salvation.

Some of the opponents grant this; but they ask why St. Irenaeus' argument is valid. What reason does he imply for the validity of that argument? Why would the Word not have become flesh if flesh had not been capable of salvation? Because, they answer, the only reason for the incarnation was the salvation of the flesh, and if it could not be saved, the incarnation would have been without a purpose: "Christus factus est homo ad salvandos homines et ob nullam aliam causam. Si ergo salva fieri non potest, tota incarnatio redditur inutilis."<sup>38</sup> Just by way of observation, this change from flesh to men, is not justifiable. Neither in the mind of the heretics nor of St. Irenaeus is there question here of saving the entire man, but only of the flesh: the heretics never denied that man's soul could be saved; they affirmed that it was impossible for the soul not to be saved.

Many defenders of the Franciscan view would answer the objection as they answer all objections drawn from the Fathers who seem to assert that the Incarnate Word came only to redeem man. They would say that St. Irenaeus is speaking of passible flesh!

36. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 21, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1179).

37. *P. G.*, 7, 1156.

38. Leeming, S.J., in his tract on the Incarnation for private use of the students in the Gregorian University (Rome, 1936), p. 34.

If man's flesh were not capable of salvation, that is redemption, the Word would not have assumed passible flesh because he assumed passible flesh merely to redeem man. However, it is quite plain that St. Irenaeus is not speaking of sinful, passible flesh, but of flesh in general. And that tells us, too, that there is question here not of redeeming man, but of saving him, of endowing his body with incorruption. Therefore, we should answer by denying the unfounded assumption that *save* means *redeem* in this passage. We showed above that St. Irenaeus uses the words *σώζω* and *σωτηρία* in their primitive meaning as something primarily and principally positive — grace, eternal glory, incorruption of the body, perfection. This is precisely the meaning it must have in this passage because he is arguing against the heretics who held that it is impossible for the body to receive incorruption because of its very nature.

Nor is that interpretation rejected implicitly by St. Irenaeus when in the rest of the chapter he speaks of flesh and blood that had been lost in Adam. As a matter of fact, *salvare* can and often does include liberation from sin; but that is only accidental. The main and primal note of *salvare* goes back beyond the state of soul sickness to the original state of health, of innocence, of incorruptibility. That is indicated already in the fact that St. Irenaeus chose a word which primarily means to preserve. Besides, the context, as was shown, clearly proves that this primal note belongs to the idea of *save* here. Lastly, number two of this same chapter places this beyond doubt. There he speaks of Christ's saving of flesh and blood that had been lost and still he says that if Christ would have had flesh and blood different from man's, the Father would have had to make Adam out of that different flesh and blood. As we showed in number 2 of this study, the ultimate reason for this is that the Savior was in God's mind as Exemplar before the saved.

Some might still insist that even though St. Irenaeus says that the Word would not have come if man could not have been saved, because he came only to save man, still that is not the Franciscan doctrine that the Word became man primarily for His own sake. St. Irenaeus would be saying that Christ came only for man's sake, therefore, not primarily for His own sake. However, that inference

is not warranted. We admit that St. Irenaeus says that the Word became man only to save man; and he can say that because the Word never intended to be in a world all by Himself without companions, so that if His companions could not be saved, he would not have come at all. And that does not imply that if they could be saved that He came primarily for them. Moreover, when St. Irenaeus speaks of the salvation of *man's flesh*, he certainly has in mind the body of Christ, and that first of all, so that if that body, which is the instrument of glory for others, could not be saved, could not be made incorruptible, the Word would never have assumed corruptible flesh. That is perfectly in line with the refutation of the heretics who held that *all* flesh was corruptible by nature. St. Irenaeus denies that emphatically and affirms that Christ assumed flesh and made it incorruptible first in Himself and then in others; and if that were not possible He would never have clothed Himself in flesh at all. Later on St. Athanasius developed this thought rather thoroughly.

This passage, then, means: If flesh and blood by their nature were incapable of receiving incorruption, the Word would never have assumed them, because He assumed them precisely for giving them, primarily His own, incorruption. He did assume them; therefore, they are capable of being clothed with incorruption.

So the Word of God became incarnate for our salvation, to be our Savior, that is, to sanctify us and preserve us in that state and glorify us. To this office he was ordained by God from the very beginning of creation according to the express statement of St. Irenaeus.

## 7. CHRIST'S RELATION TO THE ANGELS

Is there anything in the writings of St. Irenaeus about Christ's relation to the angels from which we could conclude to His place in the original plan of the universe? He wrote much about the bad angels, especially about Satan. He repeatedly speaks of Satan as the apostate and as prince of the apostasy of all the other bad angels.<sup>39</sup> He it was who caused all the others to apostatize.<sup>40</sup>

39. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 1, c. 27, n. 4 (P. G., 7, 689); lib. 3, c. 23, n. 3 and 5 (7, 962 and 963); lib. 4, c. 40, n. 1 (7, 1112).

40. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 41, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1115).

From whom did he apostatize? Certainly from God. St. Irenaeus calls Satan the apostate from God. But did he apostatize merely from God? St. Irenaeus speaking of Christ's temptation, quotes Matthew 4, 9, where Christ, after the devil tempted Him to worship himself with the promise of power over all kingdoms, orders: "Begone, Satan..." St. Irenaeus says Christ unmasked Satan and revealed Himself by calling the devil Satan, which means rebel or adversary.<sup>41</sup> From whom was he revealed to be a rebel? Merely from God, so that Christ revealed His divinity? That could be. Still it seems more plausible that He revealed Himself as the Man God, the Messiah, who was the archenemy of Satan. He would then have revealed the devil as *His* adversary, as the rebel from Himself. And that rebellion took place when Satan refused Christ homage in heaven.

In another place our Doctor speaks of the Son of Man conquering Satan and of Satan as a fugitive from man (that is, from Christ) and that the Word bound this fugitive from Him. Immediately afterwards he states that the Word gave salvation to man, and by Word, he tells us, he means Christ. From this it would seem that Satan is the fugitive from Christ as Man:

...the apostate angel of God is, however, destroyed by its [the Word's] voice, his identity having been exposed and he having been conquered by the Son of Man who kept the commandment of God.... On the contrary, therefore, the Lord exposes him by the word of God who made all things, and subjects him by means of the precept, — Now the law is the precept of God — His Man [Man God] showed him to be a fugitive from and transgressor of the law and an apostate from God. After that the Word always kept him bound as His fugitive... (The Father) had compassion on His own handiwork and gave it salvation, restoring it through the Word, that is, through Christ, in order that man might learn by actual experience that he received incorruption not of himself but of God as a donation.<sup>42</sup>

Now the devil was fugitive from Christ hardly otherwise than by refusing Christ homage in the very beginning of his apostasy. That seems to be contained in the fact that he was ever after trying to get people to adore him as Christ, and he even tempted Christ Himself to adore him. Of course, that is in Scripture; but it is note-

41. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 21, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1179).

42. *Ibid.*, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1181).



worthy that St. Irenaeus stresses it so much. He says that the devil tries to seduce men, as he did in the beginning, and gradually blinds their hearts so that they serve and adore him and forget the true God.<sup>43</sup> In the last temptation of Christ, Satan wanted Christ to adore him.<sup>44</sup> Doesn't he betray his original ambition of wanting the homage that was intended for Christ and which he should have tendered Christ? He refused then and is still refusing to pay homage to Christ and is trying to get that homage for himself. The idea certainly fits in well with the entire Christology of St. Irenaeus.

...In which [temple] the adversary will sit, endeavoring to show himself as Christ.<sup>45</sup> And will sit in the temple of God leading astray those who worship him as if he were Christ.<sup>46</sup> ...sitting in the temple of God so that those led astray by him might adore him as Christ.<sup>47</sup>

He wants the adoration that Christ will get. But the Antichrist is really being goaded on by the devil. Ultimately it is the devil who wants the worship paid to Christ.<sup>48</sup>

The Antichrist recapitulates the sin of the devil. But in Irenaeus to recapitulate means to repeat *exactly*. Therefore, from this consideration alone it would seem that the sin of Satan was the same as that of the Antichrist; namely, refusal to adore Christ and the ambition to obtain the kingship and homage of Christ for himself.

By tempting man to sin in paradise the devil is the cause also of man's apostasy from God.<sup>49</sup> And he tempted man because he envied him:

This command, however, man did not observe but became disobedient to God, having been led into error by the angel who on account of the many gifts which God had given man was moved to envy against him and became jealous, destroying himself and making man a sinner by persuading him not to obey the command of God.<sup>50</sup>

How did the devil destroy himself by tempting Eve and Adam? Did he not destroy himself already by his own sin of apostasy?

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43. *Ibid.*, c. 24, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1188).

44. *Ibid.*, c. 21, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1179).

45. *Ibid.*, c. 25, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1189).

46. *Ibid.*, n. 4 (P. G., 7, 1191).

47. *Ibid.*, c. 28, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1197).

48. *Ibid.*, c. 25, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1188 *et seq.*).

49. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 41, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1115).

50. *Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae*, n. 16; cf. also *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 24, n. 4 (P. G., 7, 1188).

It seems that St. Irenaeus overlooks the chronological element here and draws together the two sins of Satan, his own apostasy in heaven, and his tempting Eve to apostatize, because both were of the same nature. Let us remember that according to St. Irenaeus the Word had foretold Adam before the fall that He would become incarnate. Hence, if the incarnation was known to Adam and decreed before the fall, it had doubtless been revealed to the angels as the test of their faith. If Satan destroyed himself by envying man and if he destroyed himself already by his own apostasy, he must have envied man already at his own apostasy. But what could he envy in man at that time except the fact that the Word would bestow the supreme privilege upon men of taking their nature as His own and elevating it above the angels in heaven and even demand that they pay homage to it? For the rest, Lucifer had higher gifts of nature and of grace than a pure man had.

That Satan really envied Christ at his trial seems to be implied in the fact that Christ is really *the* adversary of Satan, men are his adversaries only because of Christ. Besides, it is Christ who will inflict the final decisive punishment on Satan. Christ everywhere appears in opposition to Satan; everywhere Satan envies Him and wants his kingly power and divine worship; but everywhere he is frustrated by Christ and will finally be punished definitively by Christ.<sup>51</sup> Christ, if we may express it that way, puts unity into the ambitious schemes and frustrations of Satan: all of Satan's schemes are centered on Christ; Christ recapitulates the enmity that Satan wished to place between man and God, by making Satan the enemy of man through the incarnation.<sup>52</sup>

When all this is viewed in the light of Christ as universal Exemplar and Mediator and End, as described above, it would seem that St. Irenaeus views Satan as the archenemy of Christ because he was commanded to adore Christ in heaven; upon refusing he was cast out. He then goes about envying Christ, and because of Christ, man also, and schemes to frustrate the incarnation by tempting man to sin. Failing in this, since God will send Christ as Redeemer and as Conqueror of Satan, he attempts to obtain kingly power and divine worship of Christ directly by tempting

51. Cf. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 30, n. 4 (P. G., 7, 1207).

52. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 40, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1113).

Christ Himself. Frustrated also in this he still does not give up. He appears as the rival of Christ in the Antichrist and by posing as Christ attempts to get power over men and obtain the homage they pay to Christ. He will not succeed; Christ will ultimately and definitively cast him and the Antichrist into the eternal flames of hell which were prepared especially for him. Christ is the opponent of Satan from the beginning to the end; Christ punishes him definitively in the end because he refused Him homage in the beginning and all along the road to His everlasting triumph.

## 8. CHRIST IS RECAPITULATOR OF ALL THINGS

All agree that recapitulation is the capital idea in St. Irenaeus. It plays a central rôle in the refutation of the Gnostic errors as well as in the exposition of Christian doctrine.<sup>53</sup> He adopted this idea from St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians 1, 10, which he quotes a few times. Authors are not agreed on the precise meaning of *ανακεφαλαιώσασθαι* in St. Paul.<sup>54</sup> These meanings have been suggested: to summarize, to repeat, to unite under one head, to make the crowning point. St. Irenaeus uses the word, also the noun form, so frequently and in determined contexts that we can get a fairly accurate notion of its meaning. He certainly realized that the word means to summarize, a summary. He says the fourth covenant given to men, namely, the Gospel, summarizes (*recapitulat*) all things in itself;<sup>55</sup> he speaks of the prologue of St. John as summing up the doctrine concerning the Word;<sup>56</sup> he calls the doctrine of the Valentinians a summary (*recapitulatio*) of all the heretics;<sup>57</sup> he also tells us that Moses made a summary of the entire law which he had received from God.<sup>58</sup> It should not be surprising then to find this note of summarizing in *recapitulate* when used of Christ's work of salvation. He almost defines that meaning in the following:

53. Cf. Emil Mersch, S.J., *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (Desclée, Paris, 1936), pp. 318 *et seq.*

54. Cf. F. Prat, S.J., *The Theology of Saint Paul*; translated by John L. Stoddard (Benziger, New York, 1927), II, 92, f. n.

55. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 11, n. 8 (P. G., 7, 890).

56. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 1, c. 9, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 542).

57. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, Praef., n. 2 (P. G., 7, 973).

58. *Ibid.*, c. 2, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 976).

For we have shown that the Son of God did not then begin to exist, having been with the Father always; but when He became incarnate and was made man, He recapitulated in Himself the long evolution of men, giving us salvation by way of [this] compendium so that we might receive in Christ Jesus what we had lost in Adam; namely, to be according to the image and likeness of God.<sup>59</sup>

Christ summarized as in a compendium the entire human race, and through this compendious human nature He gave salvation to all. We receive salvation in Christ, that is, united with Christ; and salvation is according to the image and likeness of God. And thus we have two more meanings of recapitulate: union with Christ, the Head, and likeness of all to God through Christ. These two notes are brought out clearly in the following. He is proving that there is only one and the same Christ:

There is, therefore, as we have shown, one Father and one Christ Jesus, who permeates [*veniens per*] the entire economy [of salvation] and recapitulates all things in himself [Eph. 1, 10]. Now in this "all" man, God's handiwork, is also [included]; therefore He recapitulates in Himself also man: the invisible becoming visible, the incomprehensible comprehensible, the impossible possible, the Word man; recapitulating [thus] in Himself all things, that as the Word of God holds the primacy in supercelestial, spiritual, and invisible things, so He might hold the primacy also in visible and corporeal things, and [thus] taking to Himself the primacy and making Himself the Head of the Church, He might draw all things to Himself at the proper time.<sup>60</sup>

In this passage St. Irenaeus alludes both to Eph. 1, 10 and Col. 1, 18, and seems to interpret the one text by the other. By the incarnation the Word became all things, visible, comprehen-

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59. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 18, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 932): "Ostendimus enim, quia non tunc coepit Filius Dei, existens semper apud Patrem; sed quando incarnatus est, et homo factus, longam hominum expositionem in seipso recapitulavit, in compendio nobis salutem præstans, ut quod perdideramus in Adam, id est, secundum imaginem et similitudinem esse Dei, hoc in Christo Jesu reciperemus." For "in seipso recapitulavit" the Syriac has "began afresh;" cf. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (The Christian Literature Publishing Co., Buffalo, 1886), I, 446. The Latin agrees better with the context — "in compendio." The Latin is followed in Bardenhewer's *Kirchenvaeter* (Koesel, Kempten, 1912), *Irenaeus*, I, 286.

60. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 16, n. 6 (P. G., 7, 925 *et seq.*): "Unus igitur Pater, quemadmodum ostendimus, et unus Christus Jesus Dominus noster, veniens per universam dispositionem et omnia in semetipsum recapitulans (Eph. 1, 10). In omnibus autem est et homo, plasmatio Dei: et hominem ergo in semetipsum recapitulatus est, invisibilis visibilis factus, et incomprehensibilis factus comprehensibilis, et impassibilis passibilis, et Verbum homo, universa in semetipsum recapitulans: uti in supercoelestibus, et in spiritualibus et invisibilibus et corporalibus principatum habeat, in semetipsum primatum assumens et apponens semetipsum caput Ecclesiae, universa attrahat ad semetipsum apto tempore."



sible, passible. He acquired the primacy over all things created and became the Head of the Church, and thus draws all things to Himself and, naturally, unites them with Himself. Thus He is perfect Recapitulator. We have here the idea of recapitulation by summarizing and by uniting to one head. In the next passage we can clearly see the note of repetition, of correspondence by similarity. "For by recapitulating in Himself the entire human race from the beginning to the end, He recapitulated also His death... The Lord therefore recapitulated this day."<sup>61</sup> St. Irenaeus pressed to such an extent the idea of Christ's re-doing Adam's work that he figured that Adam sinned on Friday since Christ died on Friday. It is another example of Christ's recapitulating by repetition by similarity. Other examples of this type will occur below.

St. Irenaeus speaks of recapitulation by repetition in the opposite direction; that is, Christ's work corresponds to Adam's by being the exact opposite. The same is true of Mary and Eve. Examples will be given below. This is based on Romans 5, 12 *et seq.*, and is what later writers called a type by opposition.

Those are the fundamental notes of *recapitulate* as found in St. Irenaeus; namely, summarizing, repeating by similarity or by opposition, uniting under one head. These notes are certainly not exclusive of each other; they may well be predicated of one person and even in the same passage, perhaps, with one or the other note more predominant. For, Christ summarizes the nature and life of all creatures in His own perfect and real human nature, and is at the same time their Head, uniting them with Himself, and that according to His own image, which was the ideal of Adam.

Christ's work of recapitulation includes many acts. It begins with the incarnation itself.<sup>62</sup> And for that reason Christ had to have true flesh and that the same as Adam had, or else He did not recapitulate man.<sup>63</sup> Since Adam was formed from virginal soil, Christ was formed from the Virgin Mary in order to recapitulate Adam perfectly.<sup>64</sup> And in assuming the flesh, He assumed all flesh

61. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 23, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1185).

62. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 16, n. 6 (P. G., 7, 925); cf. lib. 4, c. 6, n. 2 (7, 987).

63. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 14, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1161); lib. 3, c. 22, n. 1 and 2 (7, 955 *et seq.*).

64. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 21, n. 10 (P. G., 7, 955).

and recapitulated all peoples.<sup>65</sup> Already by the incarnation Christ recapitulated all creation.<sup>66</sup>

The purpose of this recapitulation is to draw man out of sin and elevate him to a supernatural and even glorious life,<sup>67</sup> which includes the incorruption of the body.<sup>68</sup> Christ recapitulates the whole man by being united with the spirit, that is, with the soul spiritualized by the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit; and this spirit is in turn the head of man:

Into which [paradise, i.e., the Church] the Lord introduces those who obey His call, "recapitulating in Himself all things, both those in the heavens and those on the earth;" [Eph. 1, 10] but the things in the heavens are spiritual, those, however, on the earth are the economy regarding man. These things, therefore, He recapitulated in Himself: by uniting man to the Spirit and placing the Spirit in man, He Himself was made the Head of the Spirit, and makes the Spirit the head of man: for through him [the Spirit] we see and hear and speak.<sup>69</sup>

In saving us from sin, Jesus recapitulated the sin of Adam by opposition: Christ and Mary did just the opposite of what Adam and Eve did; e.g., Adam and Eve disobeyed, Christ and Mary obeyed; Adam and Eve ate of the fruit of the tree, Christ died on the tree of the Cross; Eve and Mary listened to an angel but in diametrically opposite ways so that Eve was separated from God but Mary bore the Word of God; Eve brought death, Mary gave life.<sup>70</sup>

Christ recapitulated also Satan's sin by opposition when He became Man.<sup>71</sup> Christ's work of recapitulating will come to a climax in the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment, followed by the eternal punishment of all the bad angels and men and by the rewarding of all the good with incorruptible glory so that all may serve Christ Jesus, their Savior and King, and praise Him.<sup>72</sup> Our Doctor, therefore, summarizes (recapitulates!) Christ's work of salvation in the term recapitulation.

65. *Ibid.*, c. 22, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 958).

66. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 16, n. 6 (P. G., 7, 925 *et seq.*).

67. *Ibid.*, c. 18, n. 7 (P. G., 7, 938); cf. lib. 5, c. 14, n. 1 (7, 1160 *et seq.*)

68. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 22 (P. G., 7, 958).

69. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 20, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 1178).

70. Cf. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 19, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1175).

71. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 40, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1113); cf. lib. 5, c. 21, nn. 1 and 2 (7, 1179).

72. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 1, c. 10, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 550).

Since Christ makes our salvation according to His own likeness, this, too, falls under the notion of recapitulation: "... He recapitulated in Himself the long evolution of men, giving us salvation by way of [this] compendium so that we might receive in Christ Jesus what we had lost in Adam; namely, to be according to the image and likeness of God."<sup>73</sup> And that not merely because He is the efficient cause of our likeness to God, but because He is also the true and perfect image of the Father and makes us according to His own pattern. He repeats that likeness because Adam had originally been made like to Christ.

Christ recapitulates also as the final cause of all things; for He recapitulates all things *in order to* hold the primacy over all things.<sup>74</sup> On the last day He will recapitulate man through the resurrection and judgment in order that all creatures may serve Him and sing His praise for ever.<sup>75</sup>

What did Christ recapitulate? St. Irenaeus, like St. Paul, includes all creation in Christ's work of recapitulation. The whole universe of beings comes under His influence as Recapitulator: "And for this reason our Lord, summing up *all* things in Himself, came to us in these last times..."<sup>76</sup> This work of recapitulating is as extensive as that of creation and as all-inclusive as Christ's kingly power:

For the Maker of the world is truly the Word of God: but this is our Lord, who in the last times was made man; who is in this world and in an invisible manner contains all things created and is inherent in the entire creation, since as Word of God He governs and disposes all things; and, therefore, He came into His own in a visible manner and was made flesh and hung upon a tree, that He might recapitulate all things in Himself.... For it is He who has power from the Father over all things, since He is the Word of God and true man, communicating with invisible things in an intellectual manner and making a law, perceivable by the outward senses, that all things should continue in their own order; over visible and human beings, however, He rules in a visible manner and passes deserving and just judgment on all.<sup>77</sup>

73. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 18, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 932).

74. *Ibid.*, c. 16, n. 6 (P. G., 7, 925 *et seq.*).

75. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 1, c. 10, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 550).

76. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 38, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1105).

77. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 18, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1174); cf. lib. 3, c. 16, n. 6 (7, 925); lib. 5, c. 20, n. 2 (7, 1178).

St. Irenaeus stresses the universality of Christ's recapitulation so much that we are not justified in limiting it to the time after the fall. As we noted, he seems to make it co-extensive with creation and with the kingly power of Christ. Again, the unity of plan of salvation which St. Irenaeus puts into the notion of recapitulation seems to demand that the Mediator be *exactly* the same before and after the fall, — not merely that the Word is the same, but that the God Man is present in both cases. Of course, if we have recourse to the conclusions in regard to Christ as Mediator and Model and End, which show that Christ was in the divine plan before the fall of Adam, we can infer that Christ is Recapitulator of all creatures even before the fall.

Grandiose, indeed, and beautiful is this concept of recapitulation of all things in and through Christ. It is a summary, truly a recapitulation, of the position of Christ in the plan of the universe. It tells us that Christ is the Exemplar of all, the End of all, the Savior of all, and that not merely as Redeemer, much less primarily as such.

Certain authors will naturally find St. Irenaeus "vague" in the use of the term recapitulation because they can see nothing but a Christ who came primarily to redeem man from sin, or who, though willed primarily for His own glory would never have come if there had been no sin. According to that preconceived idea they interpret St. Irenaeus; and they are at a loss to say whether St. Irenaeus lays more stress on the incarnation or on the redemption.<sup>78</sup> St. Irenaeus, without slighting the reality and value of the redemption, lays more stress on the incarnation, not merely because it is the *conditio sine qua non* of redemption in the present order, but because Christ had been predestined as man's Exemplar and End and Savior prior to the prevision of Adam's fall. Sin came and Christ had to redeem man first, but the chief work of the Savior was still the same as it had been intended prior to the fall; namely, the sanctification and complete glorification and perfection of man. The Incarnate Word was still the Exemplar and Dispenser of all gifts. He was still the End of all creation. In that light there is not much vagueness in the notion of recapitulation, especially of

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78. J. Rivière, *The Doctrine of the Atonement: A Historical Essay* (Herder, St. Louis, 1909), I, 141.



recapitulation through the incarnation itself. The one word expresses the perfect unity of the work of God in bringing His creatures to a life of glory with Himself through the Incarnate Word.

## 9. CHRIST IS IN THE FIRST PLAN OF THE UNIVERSE

In the beginning of this study we stated that St. Irenaeus treats the question of Christ's place in the universe *ex professo*. We see now how true that is. He tells us not only what Christ is, but also what His work is, why He became incarnate. We have tried to show that St. Irenaeus holds that Christ is the Exemplar, the Mediator, and the End of all creatures, not merely after the fall, but from the very beginning. The cumulative force of all the arguments seems to beget certainty as to the mind of St. Irenaeus. The argument drawn from the text in *Demonstratio prædicationis apostolicæ*, where he states that the Word had informed Adam in the state of innocence about His future coming as Man, seems conclusive. The passage in *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. 3, c. 22, n. 3, which the adversaries have always used against us, we have turned directly against them by showing how it proves that Christ was in the mind of God before the prevision of sin as Mediator of man.

The defenders of the absolute primacy of Christ say that if Christ was willed primarily for the redemption of man; namely, at the occasion of man's sin, He was merely an occasioned good (*bonum occasionatum*). St. Irenaeus has a line of reasoning against the heretics of his day which seems to be in accord with this argument. The Gnostics claimed that Christ and Jesus were made merely after and because of the defection of Wisdom. St. Irenaeus criticizes them very severely and insists that the Word was eternal and did not begin after and because of the fall of man, nor at the incarnation:

For who that has any sense and attains only a modicum of truth, can tolerate their asserting that there is another God the Father above the Maker [Demiurge]; and that another is Only-begotten and another the Word of God, whom they claim to have been produced in degradation; and another Christ, whom they assert to have been made later than the rest of the Aeons together with the Holy Spirit; and another Savior, who was formed [collatum et congestum] not by the Father of all things, but by the Aeons who were made in degradation, and who was necessarily produced

because of the degradation. Thus [according to them], unless the Aeons had been in ignorance and degradation, neither Christ nor the Holy Spirit nor Horos nor the Savior... would have existed; but all would have been devoid and destitute of [so great] goods. They are, therefore, impious not only against so great a Maker, declaring Him the fruit of a defect, but also against Christ and the Holy Spirit, asserting that these were on account of the defect; and in like manner, that the Savior [was produced] subsequently to the defect.<sup>79</sup>

It is certain, therefore, that the *Word* was not made after the fall and because of the defection of Wisdom. But that alone does not seem to do justice to St. Irenaeus. He objects so strongly to the idea that Christ and the Savior were made on account of the defection that we have to understand this passage in the sense that not only the Word as such was eternally with God, but Christ Jesus, the Savior, was not willed primarily because of the defection of man.

What do modern authors think of St. Irenaeus' doctrine in this matter? When we discussed the notion of salvation, we noted some of the opinions. They agree in praising the unity of the divine plan according to St. Irenaeus and in holding that Christ occupies a central place in the plan even before the fall of Adam. However, they are followers of Suarez in regard to the motive of the incarnation and read that theory into St. Irenaeus' words. This is very strange, at least for those who tell us that we should not try to force the Thomist or Scotist view of the incarnation into the words of such an early writer. Why, then, try to read Suarez' view into them, especially since it is contradictory in terms?

Authors who hold the Franciscan view are wont to quote St. Irenaeus in their favor. Some few have quoted him more extensively than others; e.g., Fr. Chrysostome, O.F.M.,<sup>80</sup> and Fr. Jean-Baptiste du Petite Bornand, O.F.M. Cap.<sup>81</sup> Francesco M. Risi has made the most complete study of St. Irenaeus, as also of the other Fathers.<sup>82</sup>

79. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 2, c. 19, n. 9 (P. G., 7, 776).

80. P. Chrysostome, O.F.M., *Christus Alpha et Omega seu de Christi universali regno*, under the pseudonym of P. Maria Michael, O.F.M. (Berges, Lille, 1898).

81. *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

82. *Op. cit.*, III, 29-68.

# 10. CHRIST EXISTS PRIMARILY FOR HIS OWN GLORY BECAUSE OF THE GOODNESS OF GOD

From the truth that Christ is the Mediator, the Model, the End of all creation, it follows that God willed Him primarily for His own sake, for His own perfections and eternal happiness and also for the glory He would give to God. If He was not willed primarily for the redemption of Adam's sin, then all will readily admit that He was willed primarily for His own glory.

All angels and men were created to give glory to God and sing His praises: "And their powers; namely, of the Word and Wisdom, who are called Cherubim and Seraphim, glorify God with unceasing song; and every creature in heaven gives glory to God the Father of all."<sup>83</sup> This hymn of praise will be greatest when all men will have risen from the dead and are clothed with immortality: "...What will happen when on rising we shall behold Him face to face, when all the members will overflow with hymns of joy, glorifying Him who raised them from the dead and gave them the gift of eternal life."<sup>84</sup> In fact, God perfects us in glory precisely that we may glorify Him: "...when the flesh is no longer dead, but continues to live and be incorrupt, hymning the praises of God, who has perfected us for this very purpose."<sup>85</sup>

Now since Christ's praise is so much greater, infinitely greater, than that of all creatures put together, God certainly willed Christ for the glory He would return to God. The Name of Jesus, says St. Irenaeus, is glorified by all peoples throughout the world and throughout the Church, and Jesus in turn glorifies God.<sup>86</sup>

Even though God created men and predestined them that they might give glory to Him, that was not the ultimate purpose of creation and predestination. His immense goodness was the very ultimate reason for the creation and glorification of creatures. This St. Irenaeus repeats often for the benefit of the heretics who held that creation is the work of an evil principle, not of the good God. God, he says, is not in need of man's love. He profits

83. *Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae*, n. 10; cf. also *Adv. Haer.*, lib 4, c. 37, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1101).

84. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 5, c. 8, n. 1 (7, 1142).

85. *Ibid.*, c. 13, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1159).

86. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 17, n. 6 (P. G., 7, 1029).

nothing by it. But man is in need of God's love in order to be glorified.<sup>87</sup> God created man because of His preeminent goodness<sup>88</sup> so that He would have someone with whom He might share His goodness: "In the beginning, therefore, God formed Adam, not as if He were in need, but that He might have someone on whom to confer His benefits."<sup>89</sup>

The Word became incarnate because of that same immense goodness towards us,<sup>90</sup> and gradually leads us to perfection,<sup>91</sup> to the immortal life with God.<sup>92</sup> If God was motivated by His own goodness in predestinating man, all the more did that goodness of God move Him to predestine Christ in whom more than in all creatures taken together He could pour out His immense love with greatest profusion.

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87. *Ibid.*, c. 16, n. 4 (P. G., 7, 1018).

88. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 2, c. 25, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 897); cf. lib. 4, c. 14, n. 2 (7, 1011).

89. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 14, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 1010).

90. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, c. 4, n. 2 (P. G., 7, 856); lib. 5, Praef. (7, 1120).

91. *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 4, c. 38, n. 3 (P. G., 7, 1107).

92. *Ibid.*, c. 5, n. 1 (P. G., 7, 983).



## OCKHAM'S THEORY OF TRUTH

THE AIM of the following investigation is to show that the concept of truth during the entire classical period of scholasticism was connected with the theory of signification and supposition and that this trend reached its complete development in Ockham's teachings by a consistent and resolute application of the theory of supposition. The *Venerabilis Inceptor* was not the first scholastic theologian to adopt the theory of supposition from the medieval logicians. We already recognize traces of this theory in theological writings, not only as early as in the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales,<sup>1</sup> but in the writings of Alexander's immediate predecessors as well;<sup>2</sup> we find many references to the theory of supposition in St. Bonaventure's work, as the index added to the first four volumes of the Quaracchi edition clearly indicates. St. Thomas likewise makes use of the theory of supposition<sup>3</sup> and still more does Duns Scotus. However, the most extensive use of this truly medieval and genuine scholastic theory was made by Ockham in his theology and philosophy; in his writings it is present everywhere and applied with unsurpassed rigor, especially when he attempts to elucidate the concept of truth of statements, i.e., the concept of logical truth. It appears to us that, by this consistent reinterpretation of the concept of logical truth with the help of the theory of supposition, Ockham has presented a theory of truth which is truly scholastic, since basically it is what is nowadays called the theory of correspondence.

Hence we do not intend, nor do we wish, to propound radically new ideas contained in the writings of the *Venerabilis Inceptor*; we only intend to present Ockham's theory of truth as a most convenient means for a clearer understanding of the scholastic concept of truth. At the same time we hope that the theory of supposition, which is one of the greatest achievements of scholastic Logic, will again play that decisive rôle in neo-scholasticism which was assigned to it by the scholastics.

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1. Cf., e. g., *S. Theol.*, I, n. 365, p. 541 : *suppositio personalis*.

2. In *S. Theol.*, I, n. 364, I-II ; p. 540, Alexander uses ideas of Præpositinus connected with supposition.

3. E. g., in *S. Theol.*, I, 39, 3-6.

Our immediate task however, and in fact our main task will be to offer a historical presentation of this theory of truth. Hence we are obliged to regard the teachings of Ockham in a historical light, and, therefore, we shall deal first with the concept of truth developed or explained by some prominent scholastics of the thirteenth century and we will show that, insofar as they use the theory of signification and supposition, they lead to Ockham's theory. The second part of our study will deal with Ockham's own theory of signification. The third and final part will examine Ockham's application of the theory of signification and supposition to the analysis of logical truth.

### I. HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE CONCEPT OF TRUTH IN SCHOLASTICISM

This historical sketch is not a complete history of the scholastic concept of truth. Such a history can not be presented within the limits of this survey nor is it necessary in order to attain the main purpose of this study. In particular, the writer regrets that he was not able, for practical reasons, to include the prominent figure of Albertus Magnus in this sketch. For, insofar as medieval logic is concerned, Albertus Magnus is certainly of the utmost historical importance. Nevertheless it seems to be sufficient to select a few prominent Franciscan scholastics and St. Thomas in order to show that there has been a certain unity in the interpretation of the concept of logical truth by means of the theory of signification and supposition. Needless to say, since we are only interested in this particular aspect of their theory, we pass over the rest of their theory without denying thereby the existence of further clarifications and their importance.

If we consult neo-scholastic textbooks in regard to the concept and explanation of truth, we find but few which do not place special emphasis on the commonly called scholastic or Aristotelean or even Thomistic definition of truth: "*Veritas est adæquatio rei et intellectus*" (in this form or in one of its many variants). Almost every seminarian has to know it by heart and every teacher has to endure the affliction of explaining this definition to his pupils. For its fame certainly equals its obscurity. This statement may be shocking, at first sight, to some neo-scholastics. However, it is not

altogether novel or radical. We are so fortunate as to be able to corroborate it by quotations from at least two authorities, one from the ranks of genuine late Thomism and another from the ranks of neo-scholastic Scotism. Cajetan, the famous interpreter of St. Thomas, says: "Ex his autem patet quartum, quod obscuritatem magnam in hac materia ponit, scilicet quod veritas est conformitas intellectus et rei."<sup>4</sup> And Father Zacharias Van de Woestyne, O.F.M., remarks that the classical or traditional definition of truth, quoted by St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas, has to be interpreted by his own previous explanations, and since it has much obscurity, as Cajetan states with many others, it is better to put it aside.<sup>5</sup> If this is so, then it is the more surprising that neo-scholastics cling to it so tenaciously.

However, we are told that it is famous, classical, Aristotelean, and even Thomistic. Let us, therefore, make clear at the beginning, that this definition was not formulated by St. Thomas, as he himself acknowledges; nor was it invented by Aristotle, who has left us many an obscure formula but not this one. According to Dr. G. Phelan: "For centuries it was believed and repeated that Isaac the Jew, Honain ben Ishak, an historian of Bagdad, who died in 876 A. D., was the author of the famous definition of truth..., but recent investigation has failed to reveal it in the writings of the Jewish compiler."<sup>6</sup> This substantially correct statement of Dr. Phelan needs a few clarifications, and as a Franciscan I feel it my duty to offer them. It is true that St. Thomas ascribes this definition to Isaac Israeli and that he believed it to be the definition given by the Jewish philosopher. But if "centuries of belief" means that scholastics of, let us say at least, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries commonly ascribed this definition to Isaac, the statement

4. *S. Theol.*, I, 16, 2; comment. VII; ed. Leonina, p. 209.

5. "...quia tamen ut cum multis declarat Caietanus (In *S. Theol.*, I, q. 16, a. 2) obscuritatem magnam facit, melius est eam seponere (*Cursus Philosophicus*, I (Mechelinæ, 1921), 113, note 2). Does the author think of Cardinal Mercier also? The latter remarks with caution: "La définition traditionnelle: *Veritas est adæquatio rei et intellectus*, est donc irrécusable, mais il faut bien l'entendre" (*Criteriologie générale, Cours de Philosophie*, IV (Louvain-Paris, 1923), 32). Cf. with this statement: "In my opinion the best definition of truth is the traditional scholastic definition, provided we understand and interpret it correctly, for it may be easily misunderstood and misinterpreted" (Ch. R. Baschalo, "The Nature, Source and Object of Truth", in *The New Scholasticism*, XII (1938), 232).

6. "Verum sequitur esse rerum," *Medieval Studies* (published for the Institute of Medieval Studies by Sheed and Ward, New York, 1939), I, 12.

is hardly correct. For, we look in vain for any mention of Isaac as the author of this formula in Alexander of Hales, in Albertus Magnus, in St. Bonaventure, in Richard a Mediavilla, not to mention Scotus and Ockham who do not have this definition at all; and one is naturally led to wonder whether, besides St. Thomas, any scholastic (at least outside the Thomistic tradition, which can hardly be identified with the scholastic tradition in general) attributes this formula to Isaac. This much is certain: the main scholastic Franciscan tradition either attributes this formula only to a "quidam philosophus" or does not make use of it at all.

A second point needs clarification. Dr. Phelan speaks of "recent investigation" which "has failed to reveal it in the writings of the Jewish compiler," and substantiates his statement by a reference to an article written by Fr. T. J. Muckle.<sup>7</sup> Sincerely acknowledging the value of the brief study of Fr. T. J. Muckle, we must claim the credit for having discovered the absence of this definition in Isaac Israeli for the editors of the works of St. Bonaventure. Fr. Muckle himself acknowledges this by his reference to the investigation already made by the editors of Quaracchi. The latter tell us<sup>8</sup> that they have looked in vain for the famous definition, which was ascribed by St. Thomas to Isaac Israeli, in Aristotle and in Isaac Israeli's *De Definitionibus* — i.e., the wording of the formula, not the sense of it: "Si verba tantum spectas, definitio veritatis a S. Doctore hic proposita neque in uno neque in altero occurrit, sed si ad sententiam intendis, illa definitio habetur apud utrumque."

They then inform us that they have examined a manuscript of Munich which contains Isaac's work *De Definitionibus*, and that they have found a definition of truth different from the classical one. As evidence of this, they publish the entire definition of truth as given by Isaac.<sup>9</sup> Not satisfied, however, with this negative result, they searched for a possible other source for the classical

7. "Isaac Israeli's Definition of Truth," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, Paris, Vrin, VIII [1933], 1-8.

8. *St. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi, I, 707, note 5.

9. Fr. Muckle's investigation goes farther insofar as he has examined other manuscripts also, with the same negative result. Cf. also J. T. Muckle, "Isaac Israeli *Liber de Definitionibus*," in *Archives l'histoire doctr. et litt. lu M. A.*, (Paris Vrin, XI [1938]), where on pp. 307, 322, 323, 332 and 338, Isaac's definitions of truth are found. His starting point was apparently the erroneous remark in Ueberweg-



formula, and they tentatively point to Averroes and Avicenna. And, in fact, the definition given by Averroes certainly comes very close to the wording of the famous definition. For in his work, *Destructio Destructionum*, Averroes says: "Veritas namque, ut declaratum est in sua declaratione (definitione), est æquare rem ad intellectum, scilicet quod reperiatur in anima, sicut est extra animam." <sup>10</sup>

It is strange that this remarkable investigation of the editors is so much overlooked, despite the fact that the editors always, at every occurrence of the famous formula, refer back to their discussion in the first volume, and the editors of Alexander of Hales <sup>11</sup> again referred to it and again printed the text of Averroes.

There is, therefore, much evidence, as the editors of St. Bonaventure have pointed out, that the famous, classical Aristotelean and even Thomistic definition goes back to Arabian sources. Hence neither its obscurity nor its origin recommend it for use in our textbooks.

### 1. ALEXANDER OF HALES

As far as we know at present, the famous definition of truth makes its first appearance in scholasticism with William of Auxerre, who according to Grabmann, died between 1231 and 1237, and with Philip the Chancellor (sometimes confused with Philip Grève)

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Geyer, *Die Patristische und Scholastische Philosophie*, (11. Auflage, Berlin, 1938), p. 334: "Bonaventura (I Sent. d. 40 a. 2, q. 1), Heinrich von Gent (M. de Wulf, *Hist. de la philos. scol. dans les Pays-Bas* usw. Louvain-Paris 1895, 166), Thomas von Aquin (*De verit.* 1 a. 1; *S. theol.* I, q. 16 a. 2 ad 2) entnehmen die bekannte scholastische Wahrheitsdefinition: veritas est adæquatio rei et intellectus dem "Buch der Definitionen Isaaks." Fr. Muckle, justly criticizing Geyer's statement, briefly mentions the important investigation of the editors of the works of St. Bonaventure: "He [Geyer] makes a reference to St. Bonaventure's Commentary on the First Book of Sentences (d. 40, a. 2, q. 1) where the definition is found. It is not there attributed to Isaac by St. Bonaventure and the footnote referred to below is repeated distinctly saying it does not occur in Isaac."

10. Quoted by the editors according to the edition of Venice, 1495. Closely approaching the famous definition, though not as much as the preceding, is that of Avicenna, quoted by the editors from his *Metaphysics*, c. 9: "Veritas autem... intelligitur dispositio dictionis vel intellectus, qui signat dispositionem in re exteriori, cum est ei æqualis." D. H. Pouillon, "Le premier traité des propriétés transcendantales. Le *Summa de bono* du Chancelier Philippe," in *Revue Neoscholastique de Philosophie*, XLII (1939), 59, referring to the editors of Alexander of Hales and P. Mingès, who are both more in favor of an Averroistic origin, decides rather, for historical reasons, in favor of an Avicennian origin of this formula. Cf. Parthenius Mingès, O.F.M., "Philosophiegeschichte Bemerkungen über Philip von Grève," in *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft* XXVII (1914), 21-32.

11. *S. Theol.* t. I, p. 142, note 2.

who died 1236 and wrote his *Summa de Bono* about 1230.<sup>12</sup> This work has deeply influenced Alexander's *Summa* and through it the early Franciscan school. It was from the *Summa de Bono* that Alexander most probably took the classical definition of truth, when he wrote: "Item ponitur alia (definitio) a quodam philosopho: Veritas est adæquatio rei et intellectus, sicut generaliter adæquatio signi et significati."<sup>13</sup>

It is worthwhile to discuss this definition a little more in detail. For, what is striking is this, that the "famous" definition is linked up at once with the idea of signification as developed by St. Anselm, who in turn was undoubtedly under Aristotelean influence when he connected the idea of signification with the idea of truth, in his *Dialogus de Veritate*. We need but read the first chapters of Aristotle's *Perihermenias* and Anselm's work in order to convince ourselves of such an influence.<sup>14</sup> In Alexander's, or rather Philip the Chancellor's, formulation of the classical definition, therefore, we see an attempt to interpret the obscure "classical" definition by means of Aristotelean terms through the influence of St. Anselm. And that is certainly a strange and unexpected fact.

As we are informed by the definition, the *adæquatio rei et intellectus* is only a special case of the relation of *signum* and *signatum*. Hence "intellect" has to be understood as "signifying intellect," and "thing" has to be understood as "signified thing." Thus we obtain the first clarification of this definition: Truth is the conformity (*adæquatio*) of the intellect, which is a sign, with

12. Cf. M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der katholischen Theologie seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit* (Herder Freiburg, 1933), p. 58-59. According to D. H. Pouillon (loc. cit., p. 59), William of Auxerre twice has the definition: "adæquatio intellectus ad rem" (*Summa aurea*, L. I. c. 10, p. 5, and L. I. Fr. 14, q. 3).

13. *S. Theol.*, I, n. 89, IV; t. I, p. 142. In the footnote to this definition the editors refer to the findings of the editors of St. Bonaventure, which we have already mentioned, and then quote Philip Grève (that is, Philip the Chancellor), who has literally the same definition as Alexander.

14. Compare for instance St. Anselm, *Dialogus de Veritate*, c. 13 (or 14); PL, t. 158, c. 484C: "Cum enim significatur esse, quod est, aut non esse, quod non est, recta significatio est et constat esse rectitudinem, sine qua significatio recta nequit esse. Si vero significetur esse, quod non est, aut non esse, quod est, aut si nihil omnino significetur, nulla erit rectitudo significationis, quæ nonnisi in significatione est..." with Aristotle, *Categories* (in the translation of Bæthius, lib. I, PL, 64, c. 195D): "Nam quo res est vel non est, eo etiam oratio vera aut falsa esse dicitur..." The *Perihermenias* supplied Anselm with the idea and the terms of signification, probably through Bæthius, where text and commentary give ample evidence of it. Anselm's own contribution seems to be the emphasis laid on the relation of conformity between *signum* and *signatum*, the correctness of which or the *rectitudo* of which is truth.

the thing which is signified by this sign. Or, and more in Anselmian terms: Truth is the correctness or rightness (*rectitudo*) of the relation between a sign and that which is signified by this sign, i.e., in our case, between the intellect and the thing.

We must, however, leave open the question, whether Alexander means by "intellect" or "understanding" the concept and the mental proposition or the sensible sign and sensible proposition, since he does not distinguish between mental propositions and oral propositions, or at least he does not do so as clearly as one might desire. He does, however, distinguish the truth of simple comprehension from the truth of propositions. For, he refers certain definitions given by tradition to the truth of comprehension, whilst the classical one is referred to the truth of *signum et signatum*, that is to propositions.<sup>15</sup>

It seems certain that Alexander always links up the truth of signification at least with the truth of oral propositions, as was done by St. Anselm himself.<sup>16</sup> He also knows, of course, the Anselmian distinction between the truth of cogitation, the truth of signification, and the truth of things, since he expressly refers to it.<sup>17</sup> But "cogitation" can hardly be interpreted in the sense of concept or mental proposition, but rather as imagination, i.e., as mental construction or even fiction, according to its etymology: *co-agitatio*.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, *significatio* does not apply to the

15. "Nam quædam [definitiones] data sunt de veritate comprehensionis, ut illa Soliloquiorum, quæ coincidunt in idem: Verum est, quod ita, ut est, videtur, et alia: Verum est, quod ita est, ut cognitori videtur, si velit possitque cognoscere. — Quædam de vero signi sive significationis, ut illa: Veritas est adæquatio signi etc. vel intellectus etc." (*S. Theol.*, I, n. 89; t. 1, p. 143 a).

16. Cf. the relevant references to St. Anselm in *S. Theol.*, I, n. 89, ad 3; p. 143 b; and n. 94; p. 151.

17. "Sicut distinguit Anselmus, quod est veritas rei et veritas cogitationis et significationis, sic falsitas multipliciter: falsitas rei, ut homo pictus est homo falsus; et falsitas cogitationis, ut montes aurei falsi montes; et falsitas enuntiationis vel significationis, ut hominem esse asinum est falsum. Dicendum ergo, quod falsitas rei est in rebus, falsitas cogitationis est in anima — prout dicitur in Psalmo: Anima mea impleta est illusionibus — falsitas enuntiationis in voce prout est signum" (*S. Theol.* n. 96, Resp.; p. 154).

18. Wilpert, in his article quoted in note 30, points out the importance of the right understanding of the term *cogitare*. He writes (p. 73, note 1): "Wenn z. B. Suarez, Joh. a Sancto Thoma und andere die Ausdrucksweise des hl. Thomas missdeuten, so liegt der Grund dafür zum grössten Teil in einer Wandlung der Begriffe. Wir dürfen das thomistische cognoscere häufig geradezu mit Bewusstseinhaben von, denken übersetzen. Dagegen bezeichnet cogitare bei Thomas noch durchwegs das discursive Denken entsprechend seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung co-agitare. Nicht mehr so bei Suarez. Vg. Descartes: Mens semper cogitat (hat Bewusstsein)."

word as mere sound, but to a word insofar as it conveys meaning, which of course is given or perceived only by the intellect. This may account for the lack of a distinction between the signification of the word and the signification of that which is in the mind and the relation between both.

We must not, however, overlook another very important distinction which was made already by St. Anselm and which was taken over by many scholastics, since it brings us as close to the theory of supposition as is possible here. For, with St. Anselm, Alexander distinguishes between a signification which is made or applied by actually signifying the signified, and the signification which is assigned to a proposition as such and which is given to it or assigned to it regardless of its actual use and application to a concrete fact. For instance, the proposition *Dies est* has received (*accepit significare*) or has been assigned the signification that it is day, whether it is day or not; that is, it simply signifies by itself because of this assignment that it is day. Such a signification is, of course, by definition always correct, since the proposition retains this signification as long as it is assigned to it, and consequently is not affected by the state of thing or by reality. But when signification is made, i.e., when such a proposition with this definite signification is applied to a concrete situation or state of thing (in our case, when it is used in order to express that it is now actually day), then the proposition either actually signifies the fact or it does not; if it does, it is right as to its signification and consequently the proposition is true; if it does not, then it is not right as to its actual or made signification, and consequently it is false.<sup>19</sup>

The distinction between assigned and made signification ultimately comes down to the distinction between signification as such and the actual use of signification in a proposition about facts,

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19. "Alia est rectitudo et veritas enuntiationis, quia significat ad quod significandum est facta; alia quia significat quod accepit significare. Facta est enim ad significandum rem esse dum est, et non esse dum non est; accepit autem significare rem esse indifferenter, dum est et dum non est. Verbi gratia, sive dies sit sive non sit, hæc oratio 'dies est' accepit significare diem esse. Primo modo veritas dicta est mutabilis et separabilis in contingentibus; secundo modo, inseparabilis. Primo modo est susceptiva veri et falsi: veritas in hac enim vita non attenditur secundum id, quod accepit enuntiatio, sed secundum id, ad quod est; secundo modo non, quia attenditur id, quod accepit. Unde Anselmus dicit quod primam veritatem habet accidentaliter, secundam naturaliter" (*S. Theol.*, I, n. 89, ad 3; p. 143). For the whole quotation, cf. Anselmus, *Dialogus de Veritate*, c. 2; PL, t. 158, c. 470 B s.



i.e., supposition. That signification as such and supposition is here referred to the whole proposition rather than to the terms makes no essential difference. What is important for us, is that such a distinction is made between signification as such and the application of this signification in or as a proposition, and that truth or falsity is only given in applied signification, whilst the assigned signification is not susceptible of falsity. The Anselmian term for the correctness of such a signification, or the *rectitudo* as truth of a proposition in applied signification, means, therefore, that the "supposition" of this proposition (or its terms) is right, and only if that is given, is the proposition true; if not, the proposition is false. Alexander merely substitutes the term *adaequatio* for *rectitudo*: "Est enim veritas signi, secundum quod dicimus orationem veram esse, cum ostendit rem esse sicuti est; et secundum hoc veritas est adæquatio signi ad id cuius est signum."<sup>20</sup>

We may conclude, therefore, that in the writings of Alexander of Hales, through St. Anselm and ultimately through Aristotle, we find a definition of logical truth in terms of signification and of the equivalent of supposition.

## 2. ST. BONAVENTURE

As is to be expected, the Seraphic Doctor in general follows the line of thought of his master, Alexander. He takes over the "classical" definition of truth understood and interpreted with Anselmian terms. On the other hand, he brings more to the fore the Aristotelean background of the interpretation in Anselmian terms. These various historical relations are made more apparent when St. Bonaventure states that truth concerning a *complexum* (the Aristotelean term for a proposition) is the truth of signification, and that this truth is given when the sign signifies the thing as it is, and furthermore, that this conformity of sign and thing signified is the *adaequatio* intended by the classical definition:

Verum enim dictum de complexo respicit compositionem, sicut dicit Philosophus, quia veritas et falsitas circa compositionem consistit; et ideo

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20. *S. Theol.*, n. 93, ad 1-2; p. 150 b. St. Anselm's famous and more general definition: "Veritas est rectitudo sola mente perceptibilis," is quoted by Alexander in n. 89, VIII; p. 142.

dicit veritatem signi. Signum autem est verum, quando significat, rem se habere, sicut se habet; tunc enim dicitur adæquari....<sup>21</sup>

There is no doubt that this statement is couched in the terminology of Anselm as well as Aristotle and perhaps that of Aristotle more so than of St. Anselm. This becomes even more obvious in the answer to the third objection of the same question, where the Seraphic Doctor quotes Aristotle's notification of truth in the *Categories* (in the chapter on substance) but falls immediately in line with St. Anselm, so that the editors here refer to St. Anselm alone:

Unde Philosophus non dixit: "Ab eo, quod res *est* tantum," sed: "*est* vel *non est*." Et est sensus: ad eo quod res *est*, est oratio vera, quæ significat ipsam *esse*, et ab eo quod *non est*, est falsa, quæ significat *esse*; e contrario intelligendum in re, quæ *non est*.<sup>22</sup>

We may gather from all this that, according to the Seraphic Doctor, the truth of a proposition is given, if the affirmative proposition signifies a thing that is, and the negative proposition signifies a thing that is not (certain qualifications will be added later). If the opposite cases are given, we have falsity of proposition. Saint Bonaventure, therefore, like Alexander of Hales, understands the classical definition of truth to be a case of the signification of propositions; and, like his master, he explains it with Aristotelean and Anselmian ideas.<sup>23</sup>

However, we look in vain in St. Bonaventure's works for a clear and expressly stated distinction between a mental and an oral or written proposition. On the other hand, the Seraphic Doctor follows his master in making St. Anselm's distinction between signification which is assigned to a proposition and the signification which is made or applied. In other words, he too has an equivalent of supposition. Instead of assigned and applied signification he

21. *I Sent.*, d. 46, a. u., q. 4, t. 1, p. 828.

22. *Loc. cit.*, ad 3m. p. 829. Justly the editors refer here to St. Anselm only, since they have given the reference to Aristotle already in note 4, p. 828; here in note 2 they refer both to Aristotle's *Perihermenias* and to St. Anselm's *Dialogus de Veritate*!

23. St. Bonaventure quotes the Anselmian definition: "Veritas est rectitudo sola mente perceptibilis," in *II Sent.*, prol., t. 2, p. 4a in connection with the classical definition; he links up the classical definition with the Anselmian idea of *signum* and *significatum*, in *II S.*, d. 37, a. 2, q. 3, ad opp. 2, t. 2, p. 875. He links up the classical definition with the Aristotelean notification of truth in *I Sent.*, d. 40, a. 2, q. 1, ad 1-3, t. 1, p. 707, and elsewhere.

adopts the Anselmian terms of essential (or natural) and accidental signification (which are also used by Alexander). Thus in every proposition (*enuntiatio*) we have an essential truth which is due to the fact that the signs used are instituted to signify certain objects, and this instituted signification of a proposition is always given, whether the proposition is true or false. Hence the proposition, considered only in its meaning or signification, without its application to a concrete fact, is always true and never false (let us add, as long as a certain signification is assigned to the terms). From this essential and always given truth, we have to distinguish the accidental truth, which, as the term indicates, is not given with the proposition as such, but which is given only if the signification of the proposition is applied to a fact and squares with the fact or the actual thing which is represented or expressed by the proposition. If thus the actual state of affairs is represented by the proposition, we have the adequation or conformity between sign and signified; if not, we have falsity.<sup>24</sup>

It is clear then, that according to the Seraphic Doctor, we have to look for truth in the relation of signification; more exactly, we learn that truth is a property, a condition, of the relation between the *signum* and the *significatum* in and through a proposition, the *significatum* being anything which can be signified in this way. Hence the basis for the truth of a proposition is not only being, but non-being as well, not only position, but also privation and defect.<sup>25</sup> This is very important and it is worth-

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24. "In omni enuntiatione duplex est veritas: una essentialis, et hæc est veritas, quæ propositio repræsentat illud, ad quod repræsentandum instituta est; et hæc numquam privatur ab enuntiatione; omnis enim enuntiatio significat illud, ad quod instituta est, sive sit vera, sive falsa. Alia vero est veritas accidentalis, quæ attenditur in propositione in hoc, quod repræsentat rem, secundum quod est—tunc enim dicitur adæquari signum signato; et veritas enuntiationis non est aliud quam quædam adæquatio—et hæc veritas privatur per falsitatem. Tunc enim est propositio vel enuntiatio falsa, quando signum non repræsentat rem, sicut est, vel res non est, sicut repræsentatur per signum. Et hoc est, quod dicit Philosophus: Ab eo, quod res est, vel non est, dicitur oratio vera; hoc est dicere, ab eo, quod res est, sicut repræsentatur, dicitur oratio vera; ab eo quod res non est, sicut repræsentatur, dicitur oratio falsa. Sicut igitur iniustitia est privatio rectitudinis, sic falsitas est defectus adæquationis..." (*II Sent.*, d. 37, a. 2, q. 3, t. 2, p. 874).

25. "Ideo cum quæritur, super quid fundetur veritas enuntiationis; non oportet, quod ex parte rei respondeat aliqua veritas. Sicut enim verum ens contingit vere significari ipsum esse, sic etiam de illo, quod nullo modo est, contingit vere significare, quod ipsum non est. Sicut enim significatio dicit relationem, quæ non requirit significatum esse in actu; sic etiam veritas signi, quæ quidem dicit conditionem illius relationis, non exigit fundari super aliquam rem actualiter existentem..." (*II Sent.* d. 37, a. 2, q. 3, ad 4m, t. 2, p. 875).

while to emphasize it, since one could be misled by the formula which is sometimes quoted: *Verum sequitur esse rerum*, to believe that truth is always *directly* based on being. For we are convinced that the extension of this formula to propositions of non-existence leads necessarily to the theory of signification. The Seraphic Doctor does not deny that being is the ultimate basis of the truth of propositions, but he denies very clearly that it is always the direct basis of truth. This will become evident from an interesting addition to *I Sent.*, d.46, a.u., q.4 ad 3m, where the problem discussed is: What is the basis of the truth in a true proposition?

Some people, according to the Seraphic Doctor, distinguish three kinds of true propositions and to each type they assign a different basis of their truth: In an affirmative or positive proposition, for instance in the proposition: *Caesar est homo*, the basis of truth is the reality itself, namely, the being which is Caesar. In a privative proposition, for instance in the proposition: *Caesar est homo mortuus*, the basis of truth is reality only in a certain sense (*secundum quid*), since a privation (the term *mortuus*) connotes something, that is a being, which is deprived. In a negative proposition, however, for instance in the proposition: *Caesar non est*, the basis of truth is nothing. However, at least the last basis assigned does not satisfy the Seraphic Doctor, for he objects: when we say: "this proposition is true," the predicate "true," which here qualifies the proposition, predicates some condition of being, and consequently must be based on something which is a being.<sup>26</sup>

Others maintain that the basis of truth in such statements is the principles of reality — in the case of Caesar, matter and form. However, such a basis cannot account for the truth of propositions of non-existence. For let us assume that Caesar be completely destroyed as to both matter and form; nevertheless, the proposition: *Caesar fuit*, or *Caesar non est*, remains true.

Others, finally, maintain that the basis of truth of such propositions is the understanding subject. This opinion, however, is refuted at once by the Seraphic Doctor by the brief but very remarkable statement that even if no one actually understands the proposition: *Caesar fuit*, and if it were written on a wall, it nevertheless would

26. "Sed tamen illud non videtur sufficere, quia, cum dicitur: hæc oratio est vera, verum prædicat aliquam conditionem entis: ergo necesse est super aliquid fundari, quod sit" (*I. Sent.*, d. 46, a, u, q. 4, ad 3m, t, l, p. 829).



be true.<sup>27</sup> Hence there can be no doubt that the Seraphic Doctor does not confuse the truth of a statement with the cognition of the truth of a statement and that he, like Ockham, puts special emphasis on the fact that a proposition as such is true or false, i.e., in objective verification regardless of subjective verification.

In his positive answer to our problem, the Seraphic Doctor once more falls back on St. Anselm's theory of signification. The truth of a proposition is the truth of a sign, as we have explained before. But this truth is not an absolute quality or property of a proposition, but only a relative property, given in the relation of the sign to that which is signified. That means: if the relation of signification is correct, the proposition is true; if it is not correct, the proposition is false. Now it does not belong to the essence or definition of signification that that which is signified is a being or something in reality; it is only required that it be something that can be known, a *cognoscibile*. Consequently signification and even true signification does not imply the reality or being of that which is signified. On the other hand, since everything which the intellect grasps or understands is either grasped or understood as being or grasped or imagined in comparison with being or as related to being, it follows that every signification or the truth of signifying speech is either directly (*simpliciter*) based on being or indirectly, in relation (*in ordine*) to being. The first instance is given in the true statement: *Petrus est*, provided, of course that Peter exists. The second instance is given in the statement: *Petrus fuit*, or *Petrus erit* — here we have a relation to the present time —, or even in the true statement: *Caesar non est*, since this proposition is equivalent to: *aliquod est ens, quod non est Caesar*. The same is also assumed for the statement: *Chimæra non est hircocervus*.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, the

27. "Sed adhuc illud non videtur sufficiens: quia esto quod nullus intelligat actu, adhuc oratio ista est vera, scripta in pariete: *Cæsar fuit*" (loc. cit.).

28. Ideo dicendum, quod cum veritas orationis sit veritas signi, et veritas signi non dicat qualitatem absolutam — sicut nec necessitas consequentiæ — sed respectivam, sicut signum; cum omne, quod contingit significare, contingit vere significare, et etiam falso: sicut ad rationem significandi non oportet rem esse entem, sed cognoscibilem, sic nec ad rationem veræ significationis. Et quoniam omne, quod intellectus capit, vel est ens, vel capit sive imaginatur per comparisonem ad ens; ideo omnis significatio et veritas orationis significantis vel fundatur simpliciter super ens, ut si dicatur: *Petrus est*, vel in ordine ad ens. Unde propositio de præterito fundatur super ordinem eius ad præsens; similiter propositio de futuro, sicut propositio negativa, ut si dicatur: *Cæsar non est*; aliquod enim ens est, quod non est *Cæsar*, et sic de aliis; similiter si dicatur: *chimæra non est hircocervus*" (loc. cit.).

Seraphic Doctor does not point out and declare the relation to being in the last statement. We assume that he means that that which is signified by the term *chimaera* is not the same as that which is signified by the term *hircocervus*. But where in this case is the relation to being, if we do not form new propositions? Or does he mean: the concept of the one is not the same as the concept of the other? The relation to being is of course easily seen in the former instance: *Caesar non est*, since the Seraphic Doctor resolves it, reminding us of similar resolutions of existential propositions made by modern logic: There is something, and this something is not Caesar.

This may suffice, since our intention was only to show that St. Bonaventure's theory of truth is an outstanding example of the theory of correspondence interpreted in terms of signification and an equivalent of supposition. Summarizing, we may say that truth is the conformity between the signifying proposition and that which it signifies. Falsity, consequently, is the difformity of the signifying proposition with that which it signifies.<sup>29</sup>

### 3. ST. THOMAS

It is only "with fear and trembling" that I deal here with St. Thomas' theory of truth in relation to signification. For I know well that there is no unanimous interpretation of the texts of St. Thomas even amongst the Thomists. And furthermore, it may appear almost ridiculous to go into a discussion of the definition of truth according to the Common Doctor, because any textbook of Thomistic philosophy, of which there is no scarcity, should suffice to enlighten us with the clarity of St. Thomas' philosophy itself. I thought so, too. But I was disappointed. In fact, they appeared rather confusing to me. I then hoped for light from those Thomists who have devoted special studies to the theory of truth according to their great master, and there is certainly no scarcity of such historical articles either.<sup>30</sup> Again, I was sadly disappointed, and hardly found what I was looking for. Most of them, as also

29. Cf. *II Sent.*, d. 37, a. 2, q. 3, ad opp. 2: "Item veritas est adæquatio rei et intellectus, et falsitas est inadæquatio rei et intellectus, per oppositum...." In his answer St. Bonaventure links up these definitions with the theory of signification.

30. We have examined the following articles:

Baumgartner, Matth., "Zum thomistischen Wahrheitsbegriff," *Festgabe für Clemens Bäumker* (Supplement-Band, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mittelalterlichen Philosophie, herausgeg. von Cl. Bäumker) (Münster, 1913), pp. 241-260. There

the textbooks, try to make the classical formula of truth more savory, interpreting it with speculations, some of which are difficult for me to accept. Almost all of them, however, observe a strange silence concerning the theory of signification and supposition in relation to the Thomistic theory of truth.<sup>31</sup>

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that St. Thomas also has something to say about signification in relation to truth, and in my opinion, much better things than Thomists usually discover in the texts of their master. Hence, once more, I had to turn or return to the texts of St. Thomas himself, and even more so, because I was warned by a Thomist, who happens to be an expert in modern logic, that one of the best elucidations concerning the truth of propositions given by St. Thomas no longer plays a rôle in the textbooks.<sup>32</sup>

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is no mention of any connection between the theory of truth and the theory of signification.

Roland-Gosselin, M.D., "Sur la théorie thomiste de la vérité," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, X, (1921). The result is likewise negative; the author, however, is more interested in the epistemological problem.

The same, "La théorie thomiste de l'erreur," *Mélanges thomistes, Bibl. Thom.*, III (1923), 253-274. The same result.

Wilpert, P., "Das Urteil als Träger der Wahrheit nach Thomas von Aquin," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, XLVI (1933). This remarkable study, too, does not mention the aforesaid connection.

Kremer, R., C.S.S.R., "La synthèse thomiste de la vérité," *Revue Neoscholastique de Philosophie*, XXXV (1933), 317-338. The result is essentially negative, though a few lines on p. 327 repeat what St. Thomas says in *S. Theol.*, I, 16, 2 (cf. note 35); this is used by the author for a friendly and just criticism of Mercier, in footnote 4.

Keeler, L. W., "St. Thomas' Doctrine Regarding Error," in *The New Scholasticism*, 1933, p. 26-57. Does not mention the theory of signification, though there is a reference to the text in our footnote 35 (p. 40, note 47).

Phelan, G., "Verum sequitur esse" (see note 6), likewise does not mention it and is more interested in the metaphysical background of the classical formula.

Muller-Thym, B., "The To be which signifies the truth of propositions," *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association*, XVI (1940), 230-254. See the following note.

Ryan, J. K., "The problem of Truth" *Essays in Thomism*, edited by R. E. Brennan, O.P. (Sheed and Ward, 1942), pp. 65-79. Here, too, the result is essentially negative, though two lines on p. 66 repeat in free translation what is said in note 35 by St. Thomas.

I was not able to consult Romeyer, B., "La théorie de Saint Thomas sur la vérité. Esquisse d'une synthèse," *Ann. Phil.*, III, 2 (1925).

It may be well to repeat that I have not made a universal statement about the lack of the connection between the theory of signification and the theory of truth in modern Thomistic literature.

31. B. Muller-Thym, *op. cit.*, is at least somehow an exception, since he uses freely the term "signify" and devotes even a few lines (pp. 248-249) to the signification of subject and predicate in a true proposition.

32. Bochenski, I.M., O.P., "Notes historiques sur les propositions modales," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, XXVI (1937), 674, note 3: "Summ. Theol., I, q. 13, a. 12. Cette théorie thomiste si remarquable ne figure plus dans les manuels."

In order to do justice to those who have dealt with the Thomistic theory of truth, let us first state that we do not maintain that they misinterpreted St. Thomas; we only say that they have not said enough and certainly not that which, in our opinion, is most lucid in St. Thomas. Secondly we wish to state that many of them (Wilpert at least is an exception) have not carefully followed the development of St. Thomas himself. No one can reasonably deny that there is evidence of a development in St. Thomas' ideas, but, as in the case of Aristotle, this fact is much overlooked, especially in regard to the works following the Commentary on the Sentences. Dismissing here for our study the Commentary on the Sentences, we can consider the following sequence of the works of St. Thomas relevant to our problem as safely established:

*Quaestiones de veritate*: 1256-1259.

*Summa contra gentiles*: completed 1264.

*Summa theologica*: since 1266.

*In libros Perihermenias*: since 1269.

Now, it seems that the theory of signification is not linked up with the theory of truth in the first two works, but it is definitely connected with it in the two last works. In consequence, there can be expected a difference — not a contradiction — of interpretation of the Thomistic theory of truth according as the principal source is the former or the latter works. In this study we shall follow St. Thomas exclusively in the latter writings, in accordance with our purpose.

We must concede to Dr. Phelan that the definition of truth, expressly attributed to Isaac Israeli by the Common Doctor, plays an important rôle in St. Thomas' latter writings as it does in his former works. But it is likewise true that in the *Summa Theologica* St. Thomas uses the terms *significare* and *signum* in order to explain what is meant by this obscure definition. After one has read Thomistic explanations of truth burdened with heavy metaphysical speculations, it is a relief to find St. Thomas himself saying that the truth of an affirmative proposition is a case of signification. For such an affirmative proposition is then true, if subject and predicate signify somehow the same, insofar as the thing or the reality is concerned, but something different, insofar as the meaning of the terms is concerned: "Ad cuius evidentiam sciendum est,



quod in qualibet propositione affirmativa vera, oportet quod praedicatum et subiectum significant idem secundum rem aliquo modo, et diversum secundum rationem." And he explains what he means, using as example the proposition *Homo est albus*. The meaning of *homo* and the meaning of *albus* differ, but both refer to the same concrete *suppositum*.<sup>33</sup>

When, therefore, St. Thomas a little later (in 16,2) defines truth as the conformity between intellect and thing: "Et propter hoc per conformitatem intellectus et rei veritas definitur," we have to understand this formula in the sense previously explained. Hence the *intellectus* is the entire proposition, with its various relations of signification of subject and predicate and the copula, the thing is the reality or the being about which the proposition is made. Hence, if the plurality of subject and predicate, both usually (the statement of identity would be an irrelevant exception) conveying different meanings, signify the same thing or *suppositum*, they stand for the same thing in this proposition; this identity of the thing for which subject and predicate stand is signified by the composition of the two terms in the proposition, which composition is signified by the copula *est*: "Huic vero diversitati, quae est secundum rationem, respondet pluralitas praedicati et subiecti; identitatem vero rei significat intellectus per ipsam compositionem" (*loc. cit.*, 13, 12).

At any rate, the conformity or correspondence (the *adequatio*) of a proposition (the *compositio*) with the actual state of affairs or with the thing, is truth. To know this conformity means to know truth. Both the conformity and the knowledge of this conformity are different.<sup>34</sup> To know truth only reveals this already established conformity to the mind, but does not create it. On the other hand,

33. "Manifestum est enim, quod homo et albus sunt idem subiecto et differunt ratione; alia enim est ratio hominis, et alia ratio albi. Et similiter cum dico: Homo est animal; illud enim ipsum quod est homo vere animal est; in eodem enim supposito est et natura sensibilis, a qua dicitur animal, et rationalis, a qua dicitur homo. Unde et hic etiam praedicatum et subiectum sunt idem supposito, sed diversa ratione" (*S.Theol.*, I, 13,12).

34. Wilpert, in his article quoted in note 30, shows clearly the difference between the *verum* as object and as content of an act of judgement or of the *enuntiatio* and he decides against Johannes a Sto Thoma in favor of Caietan, that the *verum* as content is the subject of truth: "Es ist das Hindeuten eines Sachverhalts auf einen Gegenstand rein als solches, das die für die Wahrheit charakteristische Beziehung und Vergleichung schafft, und es ist das Urteil als Denken eines Sachverhalts als eines gegenständlichen, das den primären Träger der Wahrheit bildet" (p. 72).

the knowability (this term being taken in its broadest sense) is essential to the relation which establishes truth of composition or the logical truth. Hence, only where there is a conformity knowable by the intellect can we speak of logical truth. In the act of simple apprehension, either of the senses or of the intellect, there is only the act of knowing the object and no composition of known objects, and consequently no knowing or knowability of a conformity. Hence such an act of simple apprehension does not reveal or manifest or make known the relation in which it stands to the known object. But only if the intellect applies one form which is signified by the predicate, to a thing signified by the subject (affirmative proposition) or removes the one from the other (negative proposition) do we have composition or division and with this either truth or falsity.<sup>35</sup>

Here again the act of composition or forming an affirmative or negative proposition is linked up with signification. For, it is expressly stated that predicate and subject signify the same thing, though under a different aspect.

We will stop here, since it is sufficient for us to have shown that St. Thomas in his *Summa Theologica*, i.e., in his later period, certainly links up his theory of truth with his theory of signification. A comparison with his Commentary on *Perihermenias* can only confirm this. But we shall abstain from such a discussion, since it does not reveal essentially new ideas concerning our problem. We shall add only two remarks. St. Thomas' theory of signification is not generally accepted by the scholastics; for, whilst the Angelic Doctor, certainly in agreement with tradition since Boethius, emphasizes indirect signification of words, meaning that the word signifies the concept and through the concept the thing, Scotus and Ockham decide in favor of direct signification of the thing by the word with which a certain meaning is connected. This problem will be taken up later. On the other hand, it is remarkable that St. Thomas makes evident the distinction between words or

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35. "Sed quando iudicat rem ita se habere sicut est forma quam de re apprehendit, tunc primo cognoscit et dicit verum. Et hoc facit componendo et dividendo; nam in omni propositione aliquam formam significatam per prædicatum, vel applicat alicui rei significatæ per subiectum, vel removel ab ea. Et ideo bene invenitur quod sensus est verus de aliqua re, vel intellectus cognoscendo quod quid est; sed non quod cognoscat aut dicat verum" (*S. Theol.*, I, 16, 2).

spoken signs and the mental terms or concepts. He prefers to call the former signs in the strict sense, whilst he reserves for the latter the term *similitudo*.<sup>36</sup> This, however, appears to us to be a matter of terminology rather than of serious disagreement with other scholastics, since those who call the concepts signs, also emphasize the fact that mental signs are natural similitudes of reality.

#### 4. DUNS SCOTUS

The *Doctor Subtilis* does not, as far as we were able to ascertain, use the famous definition of truth, though there are unmistakable allusions to it. Furthermore, he does not deal with our problem *ex professo* in his theological works and his remarks on the notion of truth are scarce. However, we are fortunate in having at our disposal at least one question concerning our problem, namely, in his *Quaestiones in libros Metaphysicorum*. Since we have some doubts, though no definite proof, as to the authenticity of the *Quaestiones in libros Perihermenias* (at least of the *Opus secundum*), we prefer to disregard the latter for our study, and to base it on Quaestio 3<sup>a</sup> libri VI of his Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle, though a preliminary study has convinced us that there is substantial agreement between the latter and the former work.

The *Doctor Subtilis* clearly distinguishes ontological and logical truth, and in the sphere of logical truth or the truth of the intellect

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36. Cf. for instance: "Comparantur autem ad intellectum voces quidem sicut signa, res autem sicut ea quorum intellectus sunt similitudines..." (*Lectura III in Peribet.*, n.7, ed. Leon., p.16). Cf. also n.9, p.17: "Quod quidem iudicium, si consonet rebus, erit verum, puta cum intellectus iudicat rem esse quod est, vel non esse quod non est. Falsum autem quando dissonat a re, puta cum iudicat non esse quod est, vel esse quod non est. Unde patet quod veritas et falsitas sicut in cognoscente et dicente non est nisi circa compositionem et divisionem. Et hoc modo Philosophus loquitur hic. Et quia voces sunt signa intellectuum, erit vox vera quæ significat verum intellectum, falsa autem, quæ significat falsum intellectum..."

Cf. also the following text in which St. Thomas explains why he does not call the concepts or the *passiones animæ* or the *intellectus* "signa", though they signify things: "Ubi attendendum est quod litteras dixit esse notas, id est signa vocum, et voces passionum animæ similiter; passiones autem animæ dicit esse similitudines rerum: et hoc ideo, quia res non cognoscitur ab anima nisi per aliquam sui similitudinem existentem vel in sensu vel in intellectu. Litteræ autem ita sunt signa vocum, et voces passionum, quod non attenditur ibi aliqua ratio similitudinis, sed sola ratio institutionis, sicut et in multis signis: ut tuba est signum belli. In passionibus autem animæ oportet attendi rationem similitudinis ad exprimendas res, qui naturaliter eas designat, non ex institutione" (*op. cit.*, lect.II, n.9, ed. Leon., p. 14).

he makes the customary distinction between the truth of simple apprehension and of composition and division or of propositions.<sup>37</sup> In regard to the latter he distinguishes again, as St. Thomas did, between the truth of a proposition as such and the truth of a proposition as comprehended by the intellect.<sup>38</sup> We are here concerned only with the former. In his first approach to the question the *Doctor Subtilis* says that the truth of a proposition considered in itself is exactly the conformity of the sign, which is the proposition, with the thing, or the object that is signified: "Sed verum in signo dicit significatum esse id, quod manifestatur per signum, et in hoc signum manifestare illud, quod est, et ita conformitatem signi ad signatum."<sup>39</sup>

However, the *Doctor Subtilis* is well aware of the ambiguity of this preliminary formula or definition of truth, since it applies to the sign-relation of simple concepts as well as to the sign-relation of complex concepts or propositions. Without going into details, we can say that according to Scotus the difference between these two relations is this, that the meaning (the *signatum*) of the simple concept has no other existence than to be the object of this conceptual act, i.e., it is as it is conceived, and hence no difformity can enter into this sign-relation. On the other hand, the sign-relation of a complex concept (i.e., here, of a proposition) *presupposes* the sign-relation of the simple concept; in other words, the sign-relation of the simple concept naturally precedes the sign-relation of the proposition and thus is the basis for the agreement or disagreement, for conformity or difformity of the sign which is the proposition with the signs which are the simple concepts. The objects or the meanings of the simple concepts thus measure the proposition and account for its truth or falsity. Because they are in virtual agreement or disagreement before they are formed into

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37. Loc cit., n.6, ed. Vives,t.7,p. 338 et seq.

38. The latter is apprehended in a reflexive act; cf. *loc. cit.*, n. 7, p. 339. Scotus here mentions again the *propositiones neutrae*, which however have nothing to do with a third "truth-value" besides truth and falsity by the intellect. I have dealt with this problem in the second volume of *Franciscan Institute Publications: William Ockham, Tractatus de predestinatione...*, edited with a study on the medieval problem of a three valued logic, which is at present in the hands of the printer.

39. Loc cit.,n.8,p. 340b.



a proposition, they measure the actual agreement or disagreement of a proposition when it is actually formed.<sup>40</sup>

Hence truth considered in itself and not considered as object of the intellect is the conformity of a complex concept or a proposition with the relation virtually given by the extremes or the simple concepts. If the proposition is in conformity with the *significatum* (meaning) of its elements, the proposition is true; if it is in difformity, it is false. This is stated so generally that it comprises all the possible relations, given in any true or false proposition.<sup>41</sup>

There still remains the task of specifying a little more the relation of conformity or difformity which is given in true propositions. In a proposition we have the comparison of two terms. If the comparison of the one simple concept with the other concerns the same thing, we have an affirmative proposition; if it concerns a different thing, it is a negative proposition; this act of comparison between two simple concepts constitutes as such, and hence necessarily, a mental relation between the one concept and the other. This mental relation is signified or expressed by the copula *est*.<sup>42</sup> The mental relation thus constituted is in conformity with the thing — since we presuppose a true proposition. As is evident from the preceding, this conformity is that of a relation between two simple concepts with the thing. What does this conformity mean? It does not mean that the same relation, which exists as mental relation between the terms, is given in reality or in the thing; for then the statement of identity: *homo est homo*, would be false, since, as we understand Scotus, the relation *homo* identical

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40. "Propter illud notandum est, quod obiectum simplex, quod est signatum conceptus simplicis, nullum esse habet aliud, quam in conceptu, secundum quod esse debet mensurare illum conceptum; obiecta conceptus complexi, quæ sunt extrema, aliud esse habent, quam ut sunt in conceptu complexo, et prius naturaliter in se, ut simplicia sunt, secundum quod esse prius mesurant illum conceptum complexum, cui esse priori conceptum cplexum conformari est verum esse, difformari est falsum esse; hoc esse est habitudo virtualiter inclusa in extremis ante naturaliter quam extrema comparentur a ratione, sed in simplici nihil est prius naturaliter in extremo, cui conceptus potest conformari et difformari" (*loc. cit.*, n.9, p. 341).

41. Unfortunately, Scotus exemplifies the truth of principles (based on the relation of two terms only) and that of conclusions (based on two terms and a middle term) and contingent facts as regards the apprehension of the truth-relation, not as regards the relation as such, but as object of cognition. Cf. *loc. cit.*, n. 10, p. 341 bs.

42. "...sed est actus comparativus unius conceptus simplicis ad alterum, ut eiusdem in affirmativa, vel diversi in negativa; hunc autem necessario sequitur vel concomitatur relatio rationis in utroque extremo ad alterum, quarum habitudinem videtur signare hoc verbum 'est', ut est nota compositionis, scilicet prout est tertium adiacens..." (*loc. cit.*, n.13, p. 344 a).

with *homo* is not repeated or anticipated by the thing *homo*.<sup>43</sup> Nor is it necessary to take refuge in the distinction between matter and form, and understand the relation of predication between subject and predicate as reflecting or corresponding to the relation of matter and form. For the proposition as such does not express this relation, and especially the statement: *Deus est Deus*, would then be false.<sup>44</sup> This conformity of the relation expressed by predication can only mean that it reflects or makes explicit what is virtually in the thing; that means, if the thing were able to produce this relation between the terms of a proposition, it would produce it by its very being. Hence the mental relation conforms with the thing itself and has its objective basis in it, though it does not exist in it. This conformity is that of the sign as proposition with the significatum which is the thing. It is obvious from the preceding that the proposition as sign is not a sign which is similar to the thing, since it belongs to a different order than the thing, and hence it is an equivocal sign; but nevertheless as sign it expresses that which is in the thing. And again, it is not an arbitrary sign of that which is in the thing, but a natural sign.<sup>45</sup>

From all this it follows that, according to Scotus, the truth of a proposition is that of correct signification. The relation between the two extremes of a proposition, signified by the copula *est*, signifies an identity or diversity in regard to the thing about which the proposition is made. And that could be rendered: if both predicate and subject supposit for the same (in an affirmative proposition) or not for the same (in a negative proposition).

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43. "Ulterius, ista habitudo rationis conformis est rei, non quod oporteat in re esse relationem aliquam inter extrema, ut in re similem isti rationis, quæ est inter extrema ut intellecta, immo ut ab intellectu invicem comparata; nam tunc esset hæc falsa, homo est homo" (*loc. cit.*, n.13, p. 344 a s).

44. "Nec oportet fugere ad compositionem formæ cum materia; tum qui illam non exprimit propositio; tum quia hæc esset falsa: Deus est Deus" (*loc. cit.*, n.13, p. 344 b). St. Thomas, *S.Theol.*, I,13,12: "Sed in propositionibus in quibus idem prædicatur de seipso, hoc aliquo modo invenitur; inquantum intellectus id quod ponit ex parte subiecti, trahit ad partem suppositi, quod vero ponit ex parte prædicati, trahit ad naturam formæ in supposito existentis, secundum quod dicitur quod prædicata tenentur formaliter, et subiecta materialiter." Cf. also *Metaphys.*, IX,II, n.1896-1898.

45. "Sed tunc hic habitudo correspondet rei, quando est talis, qualem res virtualiter continet, sive qualem res de se nata esset facere in intellectu, si faceret habitudinem illam, sive quæ est signum non simile sed æquivocum exprimens tamen illud quod est in re, sicut circulus non est similis vino, est tamen verum signum vini, falsum autem lactis, vel huiusmodi; non tamen est omnino simile, quia illud signum est ad placitum huius signati, non sic illa habitudo rei" (*loc. cit.*, n.13, p. 344b).

This is expressed clearly by Scotus in the *Oxonienſe*, where he explains the truth-relation of the proposition: *Deus est Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus*. What the subject-term signifies first, is first posited in this proposition; if now the predicate is the same with it, the affirmative proposition which denotes this identity is true. "God" is the subject in our proposition; "Father, Son and Holy Ghost" is the predicate. What is signified by the subject is the same as that which is signified by the predicate; therefore, the proposition is true.<sup>46</sup>

Hence, Scotus too explains his theory of truth with the help of the theory of signification and an equivalent of the theory of supposition.

### 5. OCKHAM

It is not our intention to explain here in detail the theory of truth according to the *Venerabilis Inceptor*; for, a full explanation of it presupposes an acquaintance with his theory of signification and supposition, which will be discussed later. Only a general characterization of his theory will be given here briefly.

There seems to be no evidence of the existence of the classical formula of truth: *Adaequatio rei et intellectus*, in the works of Ockham. Not even the term *adaequatio* plays any rôle in his declaration of truth.

Truth and falsity can be predicated only about propositions, mental, oral or written. No *incomplexum* or part of a proposition, but only a proposition and its equivalents in personal supposition can be said to be true or false.<sup>47</sup>

*Verum* and *falsum* predicated about a proposition mean or express the correspondence between the proposition and the fact, i.e., between the proposition as *signum* and the fact as *significatum*. If, therefore, the proposition signifies the state of thing or the

46. "Respondeo, quod propositio est vera, quia terminus subiectus, quod primo significat, hoc primo ponit in oratione; et si illud aliud extremum, quod prædicatur, sit idem, propositio affirmativa denotans talem identitatem, vera est. Deus autem significat naturam divinam ut est nata prædicari de supposito, et illud significatum est idem tribus personis, igitur propositio hoc significans est vera" (*Ox.* I,d.4,q.2,n.2, t.9, p. 429).

47. "Complexum est verum vel falsum, sed nullum incomplexum est verum vel falsum, sicut patet de istis: homo, album, animal, currit, et sic de aliis" (*Expositio aurea, In Prædicam.*, cap.7. ad:Videtur autem omnis affirmatio...).

thing as it is, the proposition is true; if it signifies it as it is not, the proposition is false.<sup>48</sup>

This much will suffice for the time being. At any rate, we hope to have made clear that Ockham stands in a line with respectable scholastics who all attribute an important rôle to the theory of signification in the clarification of the notion of truth. The origin of this interpretation is to be found in Aristotle and St. Anselm.

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48. "Sed veritas et falsitas sunt quædam prædicabilia de propositione importantia, quod est ita vel non est ita a parte significati, sicut denotatur per propositionem, quæ est signum. Unde propositionem esse veram est: ita esse in re, sicut significatur per eam; et propositionem esse falsam est: aliter esse, quam significatur per eam" (*Expositio aurea, In Periherm.*, prooem., ad: Est autem quemadmodum...). Cf. *Quodl.*, VII,4(ed. Argentina), et alibi.



## PHILOSOPHERS AGAINST MAN

GOD SAID: "Let us make man to our image and likeness; and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts, and the whole earth, and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth. And God created man to his own image; to the image of God he created him."<sup>1</sup> Thus the earth, hitherto peopled by beasts, looked upon its master, man. Material creation had reached its zenith.

It was most fitting that the lower forms of existence should precede man in the order of creation; for he is the epitome and crowning synthesis of the beings of the earth. He shares existence with stones; life, with plants; sensation, with animals; and above all this, he shares in angelic intellection.<sup>2</sup> For this reason the ancients regarded him as a world in miniature, since he seemed to combine in himself all the elements of the great outer world. St. Thomas called him a small world, because all creatures of the world are in a way to be found in him.<sup>3</sup> To Paracelsus, he was a microcosm, a little universe.<sup>4</sup> In a word, when God had created this complex embodiment of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, He had created the lord of the universe.

But creation did not stop there. Man's corporeal nature was indeed compacted of the slime of the earth; its vitalizing principle, however, was a spark struck from the anvil of Divinity. Brute creation has one destiny: to live its day in the service of man, then to return to the dust from which it sprang. Shot through with mortality, it is destined to die. Man alone carries about with him the germ of eternity, an immortal soul. This it is which gives such beauty to his body. Of all living beings, only he walks with head

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1. Gen. I; 26, 27.

2. Homily of St. Gregory the Great, IX lesson of Matins, Feast of the Ascension: "Omnis autem creaturæ aliquid habet homo. Habet namque commune esse cum lapidibus, vivere cum arboribus, sentire cum animalibus, intelligere cum Angelis."

3. *Summa Theologica*, I, q. 91, a. 1. "...homo dicitur minor mundus quia omnes creaturæ mundi quodammodo inveniuntur in eo."

4. Cited by James Francis Barrett, in *This Creature Man* (Bruce, Milwaukee, 1936), preface.

erect and gaze turned heavenward. Traces of the Creator's fingers shine through every line of his countenance.<sup>5</sup>

Nowhere is the gap between man and his milieu more convincingly seen than in the faculties of that immortal soul, his intellect and will. On the wings of thought, his intellect soars beyond the bounds of time and space, to the throne of the Eternal and Infinite. In the book of nature, he reads the handwriting of Divine Wisdom. He probes into the very essences of things, the reason and purpose of their existence, the cause of their being.<sup>6</sup> In a welter of dissimilars, his mighty power of judgment discovers similars, now uniting two ideas, now tearing them apart. His will enjoys untrammelled liberty. Around him he sees the brute creation led by blind impulse, helpless against the drive of its inherent tendencies. Man alone is master of his actions, captain of his destiny. Prison bars may confine his limbs, but never can they coerce his will. Upon the scaffold he may yet defy all human power; and even when he falls beneath the executioner's axe, he may still exult in his freedom.<sup>7</sup>

Despite man's lofty station in the realm of nature, he cannot exercise unrestrained dominion. True, he is lord of the earth; but he came from the Lord of the World, and to Him he owes allegiance. On one occasion that alligiance faltered. "And Adam said: The woman, whom thou gavest me to be my companion, gave me of the tree, and I did eat."<sup>8</sup> Man's disobedience sent him hurtling from the dizzy heights of the supernatural to the plane of the merely natural. His powerful faculties of the soul, intellect and will, received a crushing blow. He was turned out of paradise and forced to live his days by toiling in the sweat of his brow. The law of human life now became a struggle for happiness in the midst of sorrow and tears.

Outside paradise, man remained the lord of creation. Physically, he was the same. His spiritual faculties, however, still languished in a kind of stupor. They retained their former powers, but these powers lacked their pristine penetration and keenness. Before, man

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5. R. J. Meyer, S.J., *Science of the Saints* (Herder, St. Louis, 1929, eighth edition), I, 28.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 26, *et seq.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

8. Gen. III; 12.

was a child of the Infinite, acutely akin to the spiritual; now, he had lost that piercing, spiritual discernment. The things of the earth fascinated him. His whole being became more attuned to the throbbings of sense than to the imperious demands of right reason. The law of the spirit and the law of the flesh waged war within him. Despite his upward strivings, he had a natural proclivity to evil.

Man is by nature a social being. For that purpose had God created Eve, to be a companion or "socius" to Adam. Together, they formed the first domestic society. Since they had definite rights and duties which flowed from their very nature, and prior to the formation of any State, it follows incontestably that these rights and duties remained even after the formation of a State. For the domestic household is anterior both in idea and in fact to the gathering of men into a commonwealth.<sup>9</sup> The function of the State is not to infringe upon man's natural rights but merely to harmonize individual rights so as to safeguard public prosperity.<sup>10</sup> Adam's duty of earning a living enjoined also the right of possessing the proper amount of goods for the sustenance of life. He could foresee his needs, physical as well as spiritual; and the presence of that faculty presupposes the right to use it in every way possible. If its use were denied him, his status in society would be on a par with that of the brute.<sup>11</sup> If he could not hold property as his own, every stimulus to labor would vanish.<sup>12</sup> Every type of production, sooner or later, would find itself in a state of stagnation.

Besides man's rights and duties as a social being, he has other rights and duties as a moral being. Proximately, they are embodied in the two tables of stone which God gave Moses on Mount Sinai; ultimately, they are imprinted indelibly on the human heart. Man must love, honor, and serve God, his Creator.<sup>13</sup> This is the first great commandment; the other, closely related to this, differs only

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9. *Rerum Novarum*, Paulist edition, p. 7.

10. P. L. Chagnon, S.J., *Synopsis Ethicæ* (Gregorian University Press, Rome 1938), p. 175.

11. *Rerum Novarum*, ut supra, p. 3, et seq.

12. Chagnon, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

13. The duty of worship is not one of strict justice. To fall within the scope of justice, there must be some proportion between debtor and creditor. In the case of God and man, the relationship goes beyond justice, but it remains in some manner allied to justice.

in its application. In both cases man loves, and in the second great commandment, he directs his love to his fellowmen. Such a love assumes diverse manifestations. Man must obey all lawfully constituted authority; and he must respect the life, property, and status of his fellow beings.

But the race of men did not end with Adam and Eve. God gave them a truly miraculous power: the power of sharing in creation. "Increase and multiply"<sup>14</sup> were God's own words. Man and women were to leave home and parents, be joined in wedlock, and rear children in the love and fear of God. Thus was humanity to be perpetuated; thus also was to be perpetuated the glory of God.

Here was man's code of life. God had given him the rules. The earth was under his control, subject to his bidding. He could peer into its treasures and construct therefrom the scaffolding that would bring him back to where he began — the very heart of God.

From early times there were those who seemed to disagree with the way God made man. Some took away this or that cherished faculty; others added faculties of their own invention.<sup>15</sup> They set up before their minds the figure of *homo sapiens*, and began their work, either of dismembering, or of touching up.

It is no doubt true that in the writings of eighteenth-century David Hume, English empirical philosophy reached the high watermark of its exposition.<sup>16</sup> But it is equally true that his denial of the substantiality of the human soul has wrought havoc even up to our own day. Instead of trying to untie the Gordian knot of Cartesian speculation, he cut the knot by flatly denying the substantial existence of mind and matter. Before him, Locke had done away with the secondary qualities of bodies; Berkeley had followed him up by doing away with their primary qualities. He himself drew the conclusion, resulting in his system of pan-phenomenalism: every-

14. Gen. I; 28.

15. It might be well to note that the philosophers to be mentioned in the remainder of this paper are not to be condemned *a priori* as downright malignant. Generally speaking, they were probably motivated by a desire to penetrate to the ultimate truth of man's make-up. In pursuing their inquiries they drew faulty conclusions: some, by converting a *per accidens* manifestation into a *per se* law; and others, perhaps, Procrustean-like, stretching the results of their observation to fit the bed of preconceived opinions.

16. F. Ueberweg, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, Berlin, 1914), III, 229.



thing is phenomena; successive perceptions constitute the mind; the Ego is a delusion.<sup>17</sup>

This same error appears in contemporary dress in the writings of John B. Watson and his Behaviorists. The main thesis of Behaviorism is that the human creature and all his activities can be explained by one who regards him as a stimulus-response machine. It sees the whole concept of consciousness as useless and vicious, as nothing but the survival of the medieval superstition about the soul, and as utterly unworthy of scientific consideration.<sup>18</sup>

Completely to outlaw the soul's existence was a bold step. Others, less daring, in denying the spirituality of the soul, perpetrated an error whose gravity cannot easily be overemphasized. Such a tenet is particularly insidious in view of the fact that the soul's spirituality is the cardinal point of Scholastic philosophy.<sup>19</sup> More than this, deny a spiritual soul and you deny Christianity itself.<sup>20</sup> Among the ancients, Democritus said the soul was composed of atoms, subtle and round, which move throughout the whole organism and thus produce life. Empedocles, Lucretius, and Epicurus followed as he had led.<sup>21</sup> The attitude of the moderns, Hobbes, Holbach, and Buechner, is concisely though crudely summed up by Vogt, when he likens the secretion of thought to the secretions of various bodily organs.<sup>22</sup>

Following on the heels of this came the denial of the soul's immortality. If the soul is not spiritual, it could not possibly be immortal. The poor and oppressed of this world had no longer

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17. William Turner, *History of Philosophy*, (Ginn & Company, 1903), p. 519 *et seq.*

18. Edna Heidbreder, *Seven Psychologies*, (The Century Co., New York, 1933), p. 234. Besides this author's excellent treatment of Behaviorism, see also Hilarion Duerk, O.F.M., *Psychology in Questions and Answers* (Kenedy, New York), p. 32 *et seq.*; T. V. Moore, *Dynamic Psychology*, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1924), pp. 8, 80; Paul Grabbe, *We Call It Human Nature* (Harper, New York, 1939), p. 98; Harvey Wickham, *The Misbehaviorists* (Dial Press, New York, 1928), pp. 22 *et seq.*

19. Anscar Vonier, O.S.B., *The Human Soul* (Herder, Freiburg i. Br. 1925), p. 33.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

21. J. Froebes, S.J., *Psychologia Speculativa* (Herder, Germany, 1926), I, 54 *et seq.* Democritus: Nihil existit nisi atomi et spatium vacuum. Anima constituitur ex atomis subtilioribus et rotundis, quæ ob mobilitatem suam totum organismum pervadunt et ita omnia phenomena vitæ producunt. Epicurus: Anima est corpus subtile sparsum per organismum; corpore resoluta etiam anima resolvitur.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 55 "Omnes activitates animæ non sunt nisi functiones cerebri, aut, ut modo vulgari loquar, cogitationes se habent ad cerebrum, sicut fel ad iecur vel sicut urina ad renes."

hope of having earthly wrongs righted after death. Everything ends with the tomb. The aforementioned Materialists, although clinging, perhaps, to a desire for immortality, were driven by their own system into a denial of life beyond the grave. The pantheists, Spinoza, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Hartmann, denied personal immortality. They believed that the soul, having lost all consciousness and personality, should be absorbed into a universal substance.<sup>23</sup>

Philosophical speculation may have legislated the soul out of existence, but it still functioned through the intellect and will. Now, however, the human intellect was led to the pillory, emerging from the ordeal as a mere form of sense cognition. In other words, the difference between intellectual and sense cognition is one of degree, not of kind. Materialists and Phenomenalists maintained that we can know phenomena only. Empiricists could not go beyond experience. To the Agnostics, metaphysical truth was shrouded in obscurity; experience or sensation is the ultimate criterion of truth. Associationists and Gestaltists held that all knowledge consists in associations; everything we do is automatic. Positivists were chained to experience, unable to formulate a general law. Other Sensists, including Comte, Mill, and Spencer, were likewise shackled to the things of sense. Titchener bluntly referred to thought as a faint, elusive sense-image.<sup>24</sup>

If intellectual cognition, then, is only slightly different from sense cognition, man cannot perceive truth — provided that truth exists. The Sceptics, Sophists, and Pyrrhonists, together with Montaigne and Bayle, denied its very existence. But in general, philosophers maintained that there was such a thing, though they differed as to the human mind's mode of attaining it. Therein lies their harm. As far as the Kantians were concerned, we can know phenomena and phenomena only.<sup>25</sup> The Idealists would restrict the object of human knowledge to ideas.<sup>26</sup> Going even further, the Modern Fideists make the ultimate motive of truth and certitude something non-intellectual or outside the intellect. They appeal not

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23. *Ibid.*, II, 281.

24. *Ibid.*, II, 2 *et seq.*

25. Zachary Van de Woestyne, O.F.M., *Logica Major* (Mechliniæ, 1932), editio altera, p. 150 *et seq.*

26. *Ibid.*, p. 174 *et seq.*

so much to intellect as to faith. This school embraces the French Neo-Critics, maintaining that the standard of certitude is our moral needs, or the cooperation of all minds, common consent; the Pragmatists, with their theory that the working out of a proposition constitutes the test of its truth; and the Philosophers of Action, who look at all human tendencies, cravings, and yearnings, as their standard.<sup>27</sup> The Epistemological Socialists derive truth, not from individuals, but from the psychic laws which are operative in society and proceeding from society.<sup>28</sup> For the Immanentists, everything is deduced, reduced, and objectivated according to the absolute; all things are immanent in the absolute, which is an undetermined, universal something.<sup>29</sup> In their defense of the Catholic religion, the Traditionalists minimize the power of the human mind, deriving the motive of certitude in one way or other from divine authority.<sup>30</sup> Cartesians, in a similar strain, deduce the ability of our cognitional faculties to discover truth from the trustworthiness of God, Who, they say, could not give us faculties which are intrinsically deceptive.<sup>31</sup> Finally, the Positivists take regard to the facts of experience, and pass over or reject what transcends the physical order as smacking of mysticism, poetry, or just plain illusion;<sup>32</sup> since truth, for them, is transcendental, it will forever remain an unknown quantity.

The attack upon man swung to another front, that of the will. Upon the supposition of its freedom is based the entire scheme of human legislation, which holds that men are responsible for their conduct. If free will is a mere figment of the mind, man is an automaton; no court can justly punish him for doing something he could not help doing.<sup>33</sup> Though this is evident, the number of those who laughed at the thought of man's freedom has been legion. Some maintained that man only thinks he's a free being — i.e., that under given circumstances he can act or not act — but that he is really under an illusion. Others outrightly scoffed at the idea of a

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27. *Ibid.*, p. 180 *et seq.*

28. *Ibid.*, p. 202 *et seq.*

29. *Ibid.*, p. 205 *et seq.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 212 *et seq.*

31. *Ibid.*, p. 217 *et seq.*

32. *Ibid.*, p. 223 *et seq.*

33. John L. Stoddard, *Rebuilding a Lost Faith* (Kenedy, New York, 1922), new edition, p. 50.

free will, preferring instead to integrate man into the warp and woof of matter. Everything they observed in nature was governed by rigid laws.<sup>34</sup> Man, they argued, being a part of nature, could not be so essentially different from his environment. This blatant "petitio principii" needs little refutation.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, the denial of free will found adherents through the years, especially the Stoics and Gnostics, Hobbes, Hume, Spinoza, Herbart, Comte, Spencer, Wundt, Hoeffding, Ziehen, and a multitude of scientists.<sup>36</sup>

Man had been severely punctured by these adversaries; but he still remained one complete being. Along came Descartes, and man was split in two. The "Father of Modern Philosophy," as he is called, taught that mind and matter are so opposed that the soul is not the form of the body, but soul and body are rather two complete substances tied together. The body is a machine, so constructed that it carries on its own operations by virtue of the impulse received from the soul, which functions in the pineal gland. This portion of the brain is selected as the seat of the soul's activity because it is the only part of the cerebral substance which is not double.<sup>37</sup> By his complete separation of thinking substances from extended substance,<sup>38</sup> Descartes made it impossible for matter to affect mind.<sup>39</sup> This exaggerated dualism, when driven to its ultimate conclusions, resulted in the well-known systems of Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant,<sup>40</sup> as well as to the Occasionalism of Geulincx, the Ontologism of Malebranche, and the Pantheism of Spinoza, all of which systems are untenable either because they can be proved

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34. Heisenberg's Theory of Indeterminacy need not concern us much here. Proposed first c. 1935, its basic thesis, founded upon observation of the atom, is this: The movements of electrons are uncertain and undetermined. They cannot be predicted. And if this indeterminacy is found in the atom, the very kernel of matter, surely indeterminacy must be the characteristic of everything material. Compton believed this principle vindicated free will. But he failed to distinguish between free and undetermined. Contrary to his expectations, Scholastics did not seize upon the theory to confirm their traditional stand regarding freedom of the will. Cf. Kieran Quinn, O.F.M. Cap., *Free Will and Science* (Manuscript).

35. The point at issue is clearly: does man have a free will? Or, applying it more definitely, is man integrated into nature? These philosophers, by identifying man with nature, as a part of nature, presume the very point in question.

36. Frøbes J., *ibid.*, II, 168 *et seq.*

37. Richard G. Smith, "Descartes and French Jesuits," in *The Modern Schoolman*, Jan. 1931, p. 32.

38. *Meditations*, ii and vi; *Principles of Philosophy*, i, 63.

39. Cf. G. Kasten Tallmadge, "Changes Effected by Cartesian Philosophy in Ontology, Psychology, and Epistemology," in *The Stagirite*, Mar. 1931, p. 3.

40. G. Kasten Tallmadge, *ibid.*



inconsistent and contradictory, or because they lead to absurdities of thought.<sup>41</sup> Even the Leibnizian picture of the Universe, the monadic system, was an attempt to solve the problem raised by Descartes.<sup>42</sup> All subsequent philosophy, excepting Scholasticism, tried mightily to bridge the gap between mind and matter. Spinoza merged the two into a monism; Sensists and Empiricists merged everything into matter; Idealists merged everything into mind. As one critic remarked, Descartes put asunder soul and body, and, like children with the parts of a broken toy, men have not succeeded in really putting them together again.<sup>43</sup>

Man as a psychophysical being dropped another rung when Darwin endeavored to trace our descent to a common ancestor with the ape. He compelled man to recognize himself as a super-ape, not in all respects superior to his collateral forebear.<sup>44</sup> No longer could man look in a mirror to see therein the image and likeness of God, the temple of the Holy Spirit. He had been robbed of his divinity.

Not only against himself as an individual did man have enemies, but also as a social being. Montesquieu, Hobbes, and Kant, in deriving the right of private property from civil laws or from public authority,<sup>45</sup> struck a vital blow at family life. For if private property is merely a concession on the part of the State, it can easily rescind such a concession at any time it wishes. Man's condition then would be little more than that of a cog that does its mite to drive forward the great collectivity.

The logical conclusion to the preceding theory — even though this latter appeared much later — is State absolutism. Its first great apostle was Plato.<sup>46</sup> It is hard to discover one who has preached a more rigorous type of communism than the founder of the Academy. His ideal state would have not only community of goods, but of wives and children as well.<sup>47</sup> Modern times found

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41. *Ibid.*

42. Charles A. Weisgerber, "Causality in Leibniz," in *The Modern Schoolman*, Mar. 1939, p. 57.

43. Editorial, "Apropos Descartes," in *The Modern Schoolman*, Nov. 1937, p. 3.

44. George Sylvester Viereck, "The Seven against Man," in *Catholic Digest*, V (Nov. 1940), 1 *et seq.*

45. P. L. Chagnon, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

46. Lynch, William F., "Plato and the Absolute State," in *The Modern Schoolman*, Nov. 1938, p. 14 *et seq.*

47. *Republic*, bk. 5.

an equally ardent disciple of absolutism in Thomas Hobbes.<sup>48</sup> Primitive man, according to him, was a bellicose creature. In the beginning of the human race there was "continuall feare, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short."<sup>49</sup> It was a state of constant, mutual, universal warfare, "this warre of every man against every man."<sup>50</sup> It was a case of "homo homini lupus." In line with his distorted conception of mankind, Hobbes could postulate nothing to exercise sovereign power but a belligerent absolutism.

Equally gratuitous, though swinging completely to the other extreme, was Rousseau's conception of primitive mankind. To him, man was originally eremitical and unsocial; his natural state was a life in the forest.<sup>51</sup> It was Rousseau who invented the fiction of the "noble savage;" i.e., man is naturally good; human institutions have made him wicked. He practically did away with the doctrine of original sin, substituting an original goodness that never existed.<sup>52</sup> Man no longer had to do battle with a lower nature; he was intrinsically good. On this score, Professor Irving Babbitt remarks:

The consequences that have flowed from this new myth [i. e., of Rousseau] have been incommensurable. Its first effect was to discredit the theological view of human nature, with its insistence that man has fallen, not from nature as Rousseau asserts, but from God, and that the chief virtue it behooves man to cultivate in this fallen state is humility.... The new dualism which Rousseau sets up—that between man naturally good and his institutions—has tended not only to substitute sociology for theology, but to discredit the older dualism in any form whatsoever.<sup>53</sup>

The French critic, Gustave Lanson, is no less emphatic when he writes of Rousseau's philosophy:

It exasperates and inspires revolt and fires enthusiasm and irritates hatreds; it is the mother of violence, the source of all that is uncompromising; it launches the simple souls who give themselves up to its strange virtue upon the desperate quest of the absolute, an absolute to be realized now by anarchy and now by social despotism.<sup>54</sup>

48. Cf. Joseph H. Fichter, "Thomas Hobbes on Absolutism," in *The Modern Schoolman*, Mar. 1939, p. 64.

49. *Leviathan* (Thornton, Oxford, 1881), p. 94.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

51. P. L. Chagnon, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

52. George S. Viereck, *loc. cit.*

53. *Living Philosophies*, (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1931), p. 123 *et seq.*

54. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

Disappointed in, and robbed of, the things of the spirit, man sought consolation in the things of this world. After his day of work he could still sit down in his own home, beside his own fireplace, and exult in his own security. Then came the grim specter of Marx, who would despoil man of the product of his work. Private property must be abolished. Everyone must share and share alike. In place of mutual charity, class strife and class hate rode in the saddle. The peaceful twilight of old age, hitherto anticipated as the reward of a toilsome life, became an idle dream.<sup>55</sup>

If man in the eighteenth century and before, held that he could know God, he was soon disillusioned when Immanuel Kant appeared on the human scene. For centuries men had quarreled with one another over the limits of our knowledge. To resolve this age-old conflict by determining once and for all the extent of human knowledge, Kant set to work. He sought "to institute a court of appeal which should protect the just rights of reason, but dismiss all groundless claims, and should do this not by means of irresponsible decrees, but according to the eternal and unalterable laws of reason. This court of appeal is no other than the Critique of Pure Reason."<sup>56</sup>

The results of Kant's investigation of the mind were profoundly disquieting, if not utterly disheartening. No matter how much he strives, man cannot know God. The human mind can know only the world of phenomena; the world of noumena, i.e., things which go beyond phenomena, must remain, as far as he is concerned, behind closed doors. Kant readily admits that we cannot help thinking about these transcendental objects: the world, the soul, and God, but he assigns to the thought of them, a pragmatic, problematic value of truth. He concedes that such objects regulate our thought, fix the direction which thought must take; but whether or not those objects are set over against thought, whether they measure thought instead of being measured by it, that we can

55. George S. Viereck, *loc. cit.* Cf. also P. L. Chagnon, *op. cit.*, p. 133 *et seq.*

56. *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, Vorrede. "...einen Gerichtshof einzusetzen, der sie bei ihren gerechten Ansprüchen sichere, dagegen aber alle grundlose Anmassungen, nicht durch Machtsprüche, sondern nach ihren ewigen und unwandelbaren Gesetzen, abfertigen koenne und dieser ist kein anderer als die Kritik der reinen Vernunft selbst." Cf. also John M. Robb, "Kant and Empirical Universality," in *The Modern Schoolman*, Mar. 1933, p. 55.

never know.<sup>57</sup> The thought of God is not given formally in experience; therefore it comes wholly from the mind. Modern Agnosticism is to a great extent but an outgrowth of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." And if we ask for a proof of Agnosticism, the authority of the philosopher of Koenigsberg is inevitably brought forth as a conclusive argument.<sup>58</sup> Without a firm intellectual conviction that God really and truly exists, human life is unexplainable; perhaps even unbearable. Further, by denying the basic and essential goodness of human nature in its intrinsic determination to happiness, Kant undermined all possibility of ethics.<sup>59</sup>

Human love, whether between husband and wife, mother and child, or brother and sister, has been the celebrated theme of literature and art down the centuries. Its essential and integral purity was unquestioned. Then came Freud, burrowing into the slimy depths of the unconscious — and love had lost its sublimity. Every manifestation of affection became a mask for the polymorphous perversity of the child.<sup>60</sup> Every term of endearment was a thin veneer, concealing a substratum of Lesbian barbarism. Mankind had been stricken with a new disease — the Oedipus complex.

Another blow, capable of wreaking equally great harm, fell from the pen of Bertrand Russell. He advocates sexual license during youth, and marriage at a mature age.<sup>61</sup> To be plainer, youth is subject to no law but the law of the jungle; then, after the blossom of life has been killed, and the years of dissoluteness have melted into disillusionment, monogamous marriage is to step in and take care of the spouses in their declining years.

Father James Gillis remarks in one of his works<sup>62</sup> that if one can imagine some tremendous tragic music in the Wagnerian manner, a kind of super-opera on the story of the race of men upon earth, its dominant theme might be "man's inhumanity to

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57. Gerard Smith, "Kant's Epistemology", in *The Modern Schoolman*, Nov. 1933, p. 6.

58. Julian Bayart, "God — A Critique of Kant's Objections," in *The Modern Schoolman*, Nov. 1933, p. 11.

59. Moorehouse F. X. Millar, "Philosophy without Man," in *The Modern Schoolman*, May 1931.

60. George S. Viereck, *loc. cit.*

61. P. L. Chagnon, *op. cit.* p. 151.

62. *Christianity's Contribution to Civilization*, (Our Sunday Visitor, Huntington, Indiana, 1932), third edition, p. 33.



man." We have, indeed, in strict accord with the principle of traditional asceticism, been our own greatest enemies. Basically, the story can be stated very briefly: we have not been natural. We have rebelled against our own nature. For, as Chesterton somewhere observes, as soon as we cut ourselves adrift from the supernatural, we become un-natural. To be un-natural is to be inhuman; hence man's inhumanity to man.

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## FRAY MANUEL DEL SANTISIMO SACRAMENTO THE LAST FRANCISCAN IN KIANGSI, CHINA

WHEN IN THE thirties of the past century the Vincentian Fathers were entrusted with the spiritual care of the province of Kiangsi in southern China, the few thousand Catholics there remembered little of the foreign missionaries who had brought the Faith to their ancestors. For many generations, indeed, Jesuits, Augustinians, and Franciscans had labored there; but in the memory of the Christians, it seems, remained the name of only one of them: Fr. Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento. "According to tradition, the only missionary in Kiangsi was the Franciscan, Emmanuel, from Macao."<sup>1</sup>

The circumstances of his truly apostolic life, especially the events of his arrest and subsequent suffering for the sake of Christ during the persecution of 1784-1785, may explain why he was so well remembered among the Catholics in Kiangsi. Indeed, he was a true missionary, an example of those devoted priests working in the interior of China during the discouraging period of persecution, of their self-renunciation and devotion to their missionary vocation. In this article we shall present first, what information we have gleaned both from Western and Chinese sources on the life and work of Fr. Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento;<sup>2</sup> and the second part, some new documents relating to this missionary.

### I. LIFE AND WORK OF MANUEL DEL SANTISIMO SACRAMENTO

Fr. Manuel was born on April 22, 1741, in the Spanish town Villa Ibañez in the diocese of Valladolid. About his family we

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1. Schmidlin-Braun, *Catholic Mission History* (Techny, Ill., 1933), p. 617. — The best information on this missionary published so far is found in the work of Fr. Felix de Huerta, O.F.M., *Estado geografico, topographico, estadistico, historico-religioso de la santa y apostolica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno* (Enlarged edition, Binondo, 1863), pp. 548-549.

2. This sketch can be only preliminary. A complete biography will be possible when the missionary's letters and other first-hand materials become available. Parts of two of his letters are quoted by Lorenzo Perez, O.F.M. in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, XXXII (1929), 199 and 203. The rest lies still unpublished in the archives of the Franciscan Convent of Pastrana, Spain.

know nothing. Later, when asked by Chinese authorities about his family name, he gave it as Man-da-la-de. As a boy of fifteen he heard of the great empire of China, and full of enthusiasm "he resolved to go to China to propagate our religion."<sup>3</sup> Thus he testified later before the Chinese judges. In order to realize his wish he became an Alcantarine or Discalced Franciscan in 1757, entering the Province of San Pablo; and since that time he was known as Manuel del Santísimo Sacramento. After his solemn profession of the Rule of the Friars Minor (1758), he began the customary studies for the priesthood, and in due course was ordained a priest.

In 1770, Fr. Manuel, faithful to his resolution to be a missionary in China, left his parents and his native Spain, and sailed by way of Mexico to the Philippine Islands, where he became a member of the old and famous Province of St. Gregory the Great, which for nearly two-hundred years had supplied missionaries not only to China but to the entire Far East. Among these missionaries had been a Saint Peter Baptist who was crucified with twenty-five companions in Nagasaki, Japan, on February 5, 1597, and Fr. Antonio Caballero de Santa Maria, the venerable founder of the modern Franciscan missions in China.

In the early part of 1772, Fr. Manuel, with the blessing of his superiors, left the Philippines, and sailed to Macao, then the only place on Chinese soil where Westerners were permitted to reside permanently. Here the Spanish Franciscans had a friary located near the water front "from which a small door leads to the sea."<sup>4</sup> This friary, not to be confused with the big convent of the Portuguese Franciscans, served as the procuration of the various missions which the Philippine province maintained in China. At this time it was also the residence of the superior of all those missions, the Commissary Provincial. Fr. Manuel was welcomed in Macao by

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3. See Document No. 3. *When Hsien Ts'ung Pien* (abbreviated *W'HTP*), *Selected Historical Materials* (Palace Museum, Peking, 1930-1934), Nos. 15-17, Section: "Tien-chu-chiao Liu-ch'uan Chung-kuo Shih-liao" (Historical Materials on the Extension of the Catholic Church in China), p.26a.

4. « Histoire abrégée de la persécution excitée en Chine contre la religion chrétienne, en 1784 et 1785, extraite de plusieurs lettres écrites en 1785 et 1786. » Par M. Descourvières, procurer des missions françaises à Macao, et par M. Létondal, qui lui succéda dans cette place au commencement de 1786. *Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes* (Paris, 1818), II, 38 and 45.

Fr. Bernardo de los Santos,<sup>5</sup> then Commissary Provincial, who still bore the marks of the persecution which he had suffered while a missionary in the interior. With him was Brother Martin Palau,<sup>6</sup> procurator for the past twenty years and much beloved among the poor sick of Macao whom he served as an infirmarian. Fr. Manuel stayed with these two friars for several months devoting his time to the study of the Chinese language. Toward the end of 1772, he received his appointment: the missions in Kiangsi.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, two missionary bodies were in charge of the province of Kiangsi, the Jesuits and the Franciscans. The northern part of the province was entrusted to the French Jesuits, while the Spanish Franciscans worked in the southern part. According to a mission report of 1765, the Franciscans were in charge of six mission centers, in Wan-an, Kan Hsien, Chi-an, Hsing-Kuo, Ning-tu, and Lung-ch'üan (the modern Sui-ch'uan). In five of these centers they had a chapel, and in normal times a missionary resided at each place. But in 1765, only one missionary cared for all of these scattered missions, and the number of Catholics for that year is given as 9,713.<sup>7</sup> In the following year, Fr. Salvador de Valencia returned to Kiangsi from Fukien, but he died on August 15, 1767, only thirty-nine years old.<sup>8</sup> In 1768 two missionaries left Macao for Kiangsi, but they were arrested just after entering that province, and after

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5. Fr. Bernardo de los Santos, O.F.M. (Chinese: *Kuo*) was born at Leon on August 15, 1725, professed in the province of San Pablo on May 26, 1741, and was sent to China in 1753. Until 1759 he worked in Kuang-tzu Hsien, Fukien, when he was arrested and brought to Macao. Afterwards he went to Kiangsi where, in 1763, he became again the victim of a violent persecution and was again brought to Macao. In 1765 he was back in Kiangsi. In 1766 he became Commissary Provincial and resided in Macao until 1779 when he returned to Spain. Cf. Eusebius Gomez Platero, O.F.M., *Catalogo biografico de los religiosos Franciscanos de la provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas* (Manila, 1880), p. 486.

6. Brother Martin Palau, O.F.M., was born in Alcazar, Spain, in 1720 and was professed in the province of San Juan Bautista on February 13, 1738. He came to China in 1752 and served in Macao as procurator and pharmacist until his death on October 28, 1788. Platero, *Catalogo*, p. 477. The Chinese name of this Franciscan is *An Po-Lao*. WHTP, P. 26a.

7. Marcellino da Civezza, O.F.M., *Saggio de Bibliografia geografica, storica, ethnografica Sanfrancescana* (Prato, 1879), p. 487.

8. Fr. Salvador de Valencia, O.F.M. (de Santa Maria de los Angeles) was born in Valencia on June 5, 1728, and professed in the province of San José on January 8, 1755. He came to China in 1760 and worked first in Kiangsi, then in Fukien. In 1766 he returned to Kiangsi where he died. Platero, *Catalogo*, pp. 520-521.



severe imprisonment were sent back to Macao.<sup>9</sup> When Fr. Manuel was appointed for Kiangsi, this province was in urgent need of priests.

It was a difficult task to penetrate into the interior provinces of China. Since the infamous edict of January 12, 1724, Christianity was proscribed, and missionaries were forbidden to enter the interior of China. At various custom stations there were strict examinations of everyone who entered. If a Chinese was caught escorting a foreigner into China, he himself and the missionary were subject to severe punishment.

Yet, Chinese priests as well as laymen were always ready to risk the dangers whenever they could supply their fellow-Christians with an additional priest. This time, Joachim,<sup>10</sup> a Chinese Catholic living in Macao, was willing to conduct Fr. Manuel into Kiangsi. He supplied the priest with Chinese clothing to make him appear more like a Chinese. Then began the secret journey through the whole of Kwangtung province over the Meiling Pass into Kiangsi. At length, they arrived safely at Feng-shan, a small country place in Ta-yü county, where they found shelter with a good Catholic, Tung Yu-liang, baptized under the name Daniel. Here Fr. Manuel was to stay and to work. The guide Joachim returned to Macao.

Fr. Manuel who from now on called himself Li Ma-no (Manuel Li),<sup>11</sup> among the Chinese, slowly became acquainted with the flock entrusted to him, and during the first year already undertook missionary journeys into the different parts of the province. Chinese sources mention one to Kan-chow which was, it seems, not too successful because of difficulties in the language.<sup>12</sup>

It was for about one year that Fr. Manuel stayed in the home of Tung Yu-liang. During the winter of 1773, a fervent Catholic

9. See Document No. 1.

10. Joachim was a Catholic Chinese of Macao who for many years rendered the missions splendid service by bringing missionaries into the interior. Later, in 1783, he accompanied the new Bishop of Peking, Alexandre de Gouvea, to the capital. *Nouvelles Lettres Edificantes*, II, 66-68; *WHTP*, p.26b.

11. The word *Li* (pear) is a common Chinese family name. The personal name *Ma-no* will easily be recognized as an imitation of Manuel. According to Platero, *Catalogo*, p. 547, and Huerta, *Estado*, p. 548, Fr. Manuel's Chinese family name was *An*. This might be a mistake; it is also possible that Fr. Manuel upon his return from Manila changed his name to *An*. Many other missionaries changed their names at that time.

12. Document No. 3; *WHTP*, pp. 26 a—b.

from Wan-an Hsien, named Liu T'ien-fu, visited Li Ma-no in Feng-shan, and urged him to come over to Wan-an and stay in his home. Fr. Manuel consented immediately realizing that the location of Wan-an was incomparably more convenient than Feng-shan, and went with him. Making Liu T'ien-fu's home his headquarters, he began his apostolic work among the Christians, strengthening those who were fervent and winning back those who had grown careless and neglected their Faith. According to the Chinese, he extended his activities over the whole of southern Kiangsi from Lu-ling Hsien (today Chi-an Hsien) in the north to Ta-yü Hsien in the south. In later years he took as his companion the faith-ful P'eng I'hsü, a young Chinese Catholic and a true lay-apostle who prepared the way for many a negligent Catholic to find his way back to the Church and who was privileged to suffer with Fr. Manuel for the sake of Christ.<sup>13</sup>

More than ten years of quiet work had passed when, one day in the spring of 1784, Fr. Manuel welcomed a young confrère, Fr. Francisco de San Miguel, in the home of the Liu family.<sup>14</sup> Fr. Francisco had been brought by Paul Chiang,<sup>15</sup> a Catholic and druggist of Chin-ch'i Hsien. There was much to tell about the Philippines and Macao, and the assignments of new missionaries. Fr. Manuel heard that he was appointed to go to Shantung, and that Fr. Francisco was to take his place at Wan-an. When this news was made known to Liu Lin-kuei, son of Liu T'ien-fu and the young master of the house, he protested strongly against this change and did not want to let Fr. Manuel go. A compromise, it seems, was at last achieved; Fr. Manuel remained in Wan-an,

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13. *Ibid.*

14. Fr. Francisco de San Miguel, O.F.M., was born in Gascuena, Spain, on September 26, 1754. He was professed in the province of San José on May 1, 1771, and in 1780 was appointed to the missions in China. He did missionary work in Kiangsi. After a few months, however, the persecution broke out. He fled to Fukien, but was captured there. In chains he was led to Peking where he courageously confessed the Faith. Back in Manila in 1786, he was a missionary in Pila, Palaan, and Obando, P.I., was Guardian in Manila, Definitor, and Rector of the church in Meycanayan in 1795; in 1819 he was Commissary Visitor and President of the Chapter, and died on November 18, 1831, in Meycanayan. He was a man of great zeal and especially a great friend of the poor. Platero, *Catalogo*, pp. 570-572. The Chinese name of Fr. Francisco was Fang Ch'i-chüeh.

15. Chiang Pao-lu was born in 1746 and became a Catholic when, in 1773, he was looking for help for his sick mother. He became a zealous apostle for his faith. Cf. *WHTP*, pp.27b-28b.

at least for the time being, and Fr. Francisco went to do mission work in the eastern part of Kiangsi.<sup>16</sup>

But hardly had Fr. Francisco begun his work, when dark clouds gathered over the missions of China. On August 27, 1784, four Franciscans were arrested in Siang-yang, Hupeh; they had been on their way to Shensi, but betrayed by an apostate fell into the hands of the local authorities. Their arrest resulted in an imperial edict to search for missionaries all over the country. Before long, most of the names of the priests recently arrived were known to the government. The governor of Kiangsi received orders to arrest Fr. Francisco. But before the police had traced this missionary, they had discovered another: Fr. Manuel del Santissimo Sacramento.<sup>17</sup>

Fr. Manuel had been warned ahead of time, and retired to a lonely shed on a mountain near Tung-mu P'ing, the property of Liu Lin-kuei. But P'eng I'hsü and other Christians had been arrested, and daily new arrests took place. On March 14, 1785, three days after Fr. Manuel had sought hiding in the mountain shed, Chinese officers appeared at his retreat carrying a letter of arrested Christians stating that there was no hope of escape. Thereupon Fr. Manuel handed himself to the captors.<sup>18</sup>

With the arrested Christians, Fr. Manuel was sent to Nanch'ang, the capital of the province, where they were led before the highest authorities of the province to be questioned. All of them confessed their Faith courageously. They frankly told the judges that they were Christians and would remain so, and, for the rest, they admitted what they were unable to conceal. In one of these hearings, so tells Fr. (later bishop and martyr) G. T. Dufresse of the Paris Foreign Missionaries, the judges asked Fr. Manuel: "Are you a bishop?" "No," he responded. "Are you an archbishop?" "No." "Are you a pope?" "No." "What, then, are you?" "I am Li Ma-no."<sup>19</sup> Questioned why he had come to China, he answered:

16. Documents Nos. 3 and 4; *WHTP*, pp. 26-27

17. Document No. 1; *WHTP*, pp. 13 a-b.

18. Giuseppe Mattei da Bientina, O.F.M., "Compendio della Storia della Persecuzione mosso contro la Cattolica Religione nell' Impero della Cina l'anno de Signore 1784" in: Marcellino da Civezza, O.F.M., *Operazione dei Frati Minori circa la Propagazione della Fede*, Anno III (1862), p. 244. Cf. Document No. 1.

19. Letter of G. T. Dufresse, M.E.P., from Manila, July 1786. *Nouvelles Lettr. Ed.*, II, 335.

In coming to China my only purpose was to explain and preach our religion, to exhort people to honor the Lord of Heaven, to observe the fastdays and to recite prayers, to keep the commandments and practice virtue, and thus enable one to invite blessings in this life and reap rewards in the next. I have not engaged in such activities as leading people astray through heresy or witchcraft, or collecting funds and inciting assemblies, or inducing people to join the church by giving them money.<sup>20</sup>

After the first examination the court was not satisfied assuming that the prisoners had not told everything. Hence they held another hearing, but heard the selfsame simple story. In the eyes of these high mandarins, these Christians were religious fanatics determined to disobey Chinese laws rather than neglect their religion. Actually, however, they followed the practice of the apostles: "We must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5, 29).

According to a memorial sent to the emperor in Peking and dated April 25, 1785, the governor I-hsing-a found the Christians guilty of violating the religious laws of the empire, and proposed for all of them strict punishments: banishment to Turkestan, wearing of the Wooden Collar, flogging, and others.<sup>21</sup>

Fr. Manuel and with him a few of the more prominent Catholics had spent most of the months of March and April in the prisons of Nan-ch'ang. From there they were sent to Peking according to imperial orders. Laden with chains and clad in crimson tunics, the prisoners were lead northward spending each night in a different prison for two months. Fr. Manuel had on his tunic four big Chinese characters telling his crime: "Teacher of the Religion of the Lord of Heaven."<sup>22</sup> The red tunic was reserved for the worst criminals; Fr. Manuel considered it a privilege to wear it for his Divine Master.<sup>23</sup>

About the end of June, the confessors of Christ, half-dead from hunger and fatigue, arrived at the capital to be lead before the Board of Punishment, the supreme tribunal of justice in imperial China. Again they had to answer the many questions put to them, and again they confessed their Faith as courageously as before.

20. Document No. 3; *WHTP* p. 26b.

21. Document No. 2; *WHTP*, pp. 25a *et seq.*

22. Platero, *Catalogo*, pp. 547-548.

23. "P. Emmanuel se faisait gloire de le porter." Letter of G. T. Dufresse, *Loc. cit.*



Fr. Manuel was sentenced to life-long imprisonment and sent to the horrible prisons of Peking where many other confessors, bishops, priests, and laymen, many of them sick and on the point of death, were awaiting him.

We saw him enter our South Prison [writes Fr. Dufresse] clad in a red tunic such as is used for the worst criminals who are condemned to death or to exile. He was the only European clothed like this. He was put into a room separated from ours and which already contained about forty prisoners. On July 5, when we were called before the judges for the third time, Fr. Manuel and the two other missionaries from Shantung were also called. One confronted us to find out whether we could understand one another's language.<sup>24</sup>

The hardships of the road, especially the lack of adequate food, had weakened Fr. Manuel to such an extent that his fellow-missionaries did not expect him to live.

We could see him at the door of his compartment when he left to appear before the judges. Several times we were on the point of giving him the absolution; so much, it seemed to us, did he languish.

The officials of the tribunal had left him a little money, but the prison wardens had extorted everything from him. He also needed clothing. But he had nothing which he could sell or place in security.<sup>25</sup>

Though his fellow-missionaries in the same prison did their best to share with him the little they had, it would never have saved his life. Fortunately, by the middle of July, the missionaries residing in Peking had succeeded, by means of money, to obtain milder treatment for the prisoners, especially the permission to have them visited by Catholics of the capital. The Catholics of Peking showed a charity which resembled that of the early days of Christendom. They came with food and clothing and provided the prisoners so generously that they had more than enough.

Under the new conditions, Fr. Manuel recovered from his sickness and slowly regained his strength, so much so, that after a while he began again to observe the fastdays of the Church and his Order.<sup>26</sup> From this time on, the prisoners in the same prisons

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24. "Relation of M. Dufresse, M.E.P., of November 21, 1785. *Nouvelles Lettr. Ed.*, II, 266-267.

25. *Loc. cit.*, p. 335.

26. Relation of M. Dufresse, *Loc. cit.*, II, 336.

were also permitted to visit one another.<sup>27</sup> There were two more Franciscans in the same prison, Fr. Giovanni da Sassari and Fr. Giuseppe Mattei da Bientina, and also two Paris Foreign Missionaries, Msgr. Jean Didier de Saint Martin, Coadjutor Bishop of Szechwan, and Fr. Dufresse. They daily consoled one another, but there seemed no hope of ever leaving this prison.<sup>28</sup>

Against all expectations, on November 9, 1785, the Ch'ienlung emperor issued an edict which freed all foreign missionaries from their prisons, and left them the choice either to remain in Peking or to go back to their native country. This edict affected only the foreign priests; the imprisoned Chinese Catholics, priests and laymen alike, had to suffer the full measure of their punishments.

Among the twelve foreign missionaries released from prison, eight were Franciscans, Giovanni da Sassari, Giuseppe Mattei da Bientina, Giovanni Battista da Mandello, Luigi Landi da Signa, Crescentiano Cavalli d'Ivrea, Mariano Zaralli da Norma, Francisco de San Miguel, and Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento. Two Franciscan bishops had died in prison, Msgr. Francesco Magni and Msgr. Antonio Maria Sacconi, so had a young Franciscan missionary from Shantung, Fr. Atto Biagini.

The freed missionaries were greeted by the Bishop of Peking, Msgr. Alexandre de Gouvea, of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, and distributed among the four churches of Peking. Fr. Manuel as well as Msgr. de Saint-Martin and Fr. Dufresse were guests of the French Lazarists in the famous *Pei-t'ang* (North Church). "We took great care" wrote their superior, Fr. Nicolas-Joseph Raux, "that nothing was wanting to our three illustrious and venerable guests. How they have edified us. What a blessing it was to have them with us in our French house. It was a period of my life which I shall always remember with tender emotions."<sup>29</sup>

For the two Spanish Franciscans there could be no question whether they should stay in Peking or return to the Philippines. They knew that their superiors would expect them back for new instructions. Like them seven others also decided to leave the

27. Relation of Msgr. de Saint-Martin, M.E.P., of November 21, 1785. *Nouvelles Lettr. Ed.*, II, 228-231.

28. *Loc. cit.*, II, 268.

29. Letter of M. Raux, C.M., to M. Létondal, December 6, 1785. *Loc. cit.*, II, 403.

country in the hope of returning more easily to their former missions. On December 11, 1786, in the midst of a severe winter, nine missionaries accompanied by two officials began their journey to Canton. By January 11, they had arrived at the Yangtse River whence the journey was continued mainly by boat. They passed Nan-ch'ang where Fr. Manuel had lingered in prison, and came to Wan-an where he had labored for twelve years. In Wan-an it happened that the boat of one of the officials met with an accident and the party was held up for several days. For Fr. Manuel it must have been a time of sadness. There was his parish without a pastor, there were his Christians still frightened and suffering from the persecution. Yet, when it became known that the missionary was near, several Christians secretly came to visit him on his boat. They told him that the two Christians who had been conducted with him to Peking — probably P'eng I-hsü and Liu Lin-kuei — had been handed over to the local authorities and were still held in Wan-an's prison. Fr. Manuel charged the visitors to console the prisoners in his stead, and to relieve their needs with money which was contributed by himself and his fellow-missionaries.<sup>30</sup>

In Canton the missionaries boarded Spanish ships which brought them to Manila, where they were welcomed as worthy confessors of the Faith. The Franciscans, two Spaniards and four Italians, were conducted by their confrères to the old convent "San Francisco del Monte" in Manila.

As the months passed by, reports reached the Philippines that the persecution had quieted down. Several missionaries prepared to go back to China. Before a year was over, Fr. Manuel had obtained permission to return to China, and by February, 1788, he was in Macao "waiting for the moment to enter the empire."<sup>31</sup> This time he had come to China as Commissary Provincial and head of all Spanish Franciscan missions in China. There were, indeed, not many missionaries left in the interior, yet it required much tact and foresight to keep them in the field. Whether Fr. Manuel ever succeeded in going back to his mission in Kiangsi, is a question difficult to determine from sources now available; two of his letters written in 1788 and 1806 were sent from Macao. Yet

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30. Letter of M. Dufresse, Manila, September 14, 1786. *Loc. cit.*, II, 352-353.

31. Letter of M. Dufresse, Macao, February 8, 1788. *Loc. cit.*, II, 424.

there are reasons to assume that he visited his Christians in Kiangsi on occasional tours.

During these years Fr. Manuel found also time for literary work. The most important work which is ascribed to him is a book on linguistics: *Arte del Idioma Chinico*. According to Felix de Huerta, O.F.M., it was printed in Canton in 1791, but so far no copy of it has been brought to light.<sup>32</sup> Fr. Manuel is also mentioned as the author of a *Recommendatio Animæ* with both Chinese and Latin texts and of a big volume in folio, *Recopilacion de Decretos Pontificios y de la Sagrada Congregacion*. The latter is apparently the result of his study of mission law during the time of his office as superior.<sup>33</sup>

This time, Fr. Manuel remained in China for twenty-five years, until 1813. The situation of the Church in China became more difficult from year to year. In 1790 Fr. Matias Garcia Ferrera de S. Teresa y Alcazar died in Shantung, and Fr. Manuel was unable to replace him. Eleven years later Fr. Buenaventura del Corazon de Jesus died as the last Spanish Franciscan in Shantung. During the violent persecution of 1811 the friary of Macao was the only house of the province in China. In 1813 the news that Spain had been invaded by the armies of Napoleon and that mission support both in men and funds could no longer be expected from the Spanish homeland reached the Far East. Without this support, it was impossible for the Philippine province to continue its missions in China. The Definitorium in Manila, then, forced by circumstances and not without deep regret decided to recall the Chinese missionaries to the Philippines.<sup>34</sup> When Fr. Manuel returned to Manila he was well over seventy and of failing health. He lived to hear of the martyrdom of his friend, Bishop Dufresse, in 1815.

32. Huerta, *Estado*, p. 548. — Civezza, *Saggio* (no. 590) and based on him Henri Cordier, *L'Imprimerie Sino-Européenne en Chine*, (Paris, 1901), p. 43, give the date of its publication as 1781.

33. Huerta, *Estado*, pp. 548-549.

34. "...in Sinensium imperio... Provincia laborabat usque ad an. 1813. Hoc in tempore, deficiente familia conventum Hispaniae ob invasionem Napoleonicae quae in bello permanente totam Iberiam peninsulam tenebat, et subsidio Regum Catholicorum cessante, Provincia nostra missiones Sinenses relinquere non sine intentissimo dolore fuit compulsa." Gabriel Casanova, O.F.M., *Compendium historicum Provinciae Franciscanae S. Gregorii Magni Philippinarum* (Matriti, 1908), p. 39. — See also Otto Maas, O.F.M., «Die Franziskanermission in China während des 18. Jahrhunderts», *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, XXII (1932), 239-240, for comments and corrections.



and that of his confrère, Giovanni Lantrua da Triora, in the following year. He died peacefully at Vocane in the Philippines on September 11, 1823, eighty-two years old.

Contemporary sources show Fr. Manuel to have been a good and saintly Franciscan, a missionary of zeal and devotion to his Christians in the midst of a hostile and pagan land, an intrepid confessor of the Catholic Faith. Felix de Huerta mentions particularly his humility and patience with which he bore the humiliations and sufferings of the persecution and his prudence as a mission superior.<sup>35</sup>

With Fr. Manuel's return to the Philippines in 1813, a definite period of the history of Franciscan missions in China came to an end. He was the last of the Franciscans of the "Seraphic Mission," who were not sent by the Congregation of the Propaganda, but by their own Franciscan superiors. Except for some Franciscans who were subsequently in Hong-kong, he was also the last Franciscan to work in the South China mission field where his confrères had built up such flourishing centers in Kwangtung, Fukien, and Kiangsi a century before. Now, the Spanish friars had left. But there were still others, mostly of Italian provinces, to carry on the traditions and the work in northern and central China. The revival of the Chinese missions during the nineteenth century found the Franciscans not only still at work, but ready to send even more missionaries to China. They have laid the foundations of the mission fields which are in Franciscan care today.

## II. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO MANUEL DEL SANTISIMO SACRAMENTO

The present translations from the Chinese are official documents relating to Fr. Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento, and comprise two classes, first, two memorials of governors of Kiangsi to the Ch'ien-lung emperor (1736-1795) concerning the arrest and preliminary trial of this missionary, then, three depositions of this trial made by the missionary himself and two Chinese Catholics very close to him.

These documents, translated for the first time, throw new light on the Spanish Franciscan missions in Kiangsi, and more particularly, on the life and work of Fr. Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento. Even after the

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35. Huerta, *Estado*, p. 549.

publication of contemporary mission letters and reports written in Western languages, these Chinese documents will retain their value. For, they give us a deeper insight into the Chinese side of missionary life. They furnish Chinese names, especially of persons and places, which in Western sources are often hopelessly corrupted. They show the courageous Faith of these Chinese Catholics during the age of persecution, and at the same time, that the Chinese officials, men of high standing, yet not at all prejudiced in favor of the Church, found them guilty of no other "crime" except that they were Catholics. Thus, they are not only of historical, but also of inspirational and apologetic value.

But, if we wish to use these documents as source material for the history of Franciscan missions in China, we must not use them uncritically. They have been drawn up by men who, for the most part, had very hazy notions about the Catholic Church, who had received their information from arrested Catholics who were vitally interested in concealing whatever they could about the true extent of the missions in order not to involve other Christians or mission districts. Many passages, therefore, are open to doubts. In many instances the reports give events only in a summary fashion and as far as the emperor or the Board of Punishment was interested in them. As to the extent of the mission work and the presence of other missionaries, it is certain that most statements must be regarded as understatements.<sup>36</sup>

The present documents have been published in Chinese by the Historical Section of the Palace Museum of Peking in the journal entitled *Wen Hsien Ts'ung Pien* which contains select historical material. The original pieces are part of the archives of the Grand Council of State (*Chün Chi Ch'u*) of the former Manchu dynasty (1644-1911) and are kept in the *Ta Kao Tien* in Peking. The collection is huge; for the Ch'ien-lung period (1736-1795) alone 142,100 documents are still extant.<sup>37</sup> In 1928 the Palace Museum of Peking began to publish the more interesting material in a journal entitled *Chang Ku Ts'ung Pien* which in 1930 was continued under the name *Wen Hsien Ts'ung Pien*. The issues 15-17 of the latter contain a section

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36. As an example may serve Fr. Juan Gil de Velasco y Ojivar, O.F.M. (1732-1788). He is not mentioned in these documents, yet we read: « Cette même Providence protégea la marche du père d'Oxevar, franciscain espagnol, et de M. de Chaumont, missionnaire français, qui appelés par leur supérieurs, se rendirent sans aucun accident à Canton, le premier du Kiangsi, et le second du Fukien. » *Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes*, II, 56-57.

37. Ch'iu, A. K'ai-ming, "Chinese Historical Documents of the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1911," *Pacific Historical Review*, I (1932), 324-336; also Cyrus H. Peake, "Documents Available for Research on the Modern History of China," *The American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (1932), 61-70.

dealing exclusively with Catholic missions; the section is entitled "Tien-chu-chiao liu-ch'uan Chung-kuo Shih-liao" (of which the English translation reads Historical Materials on the Extension of the Catholic Church in China). It is a collection of memorials and reports from various provincial authorities to the emperor during the persecution of 1784-1785. The first document is dated February 4, 1785; the last October 30, 1785. The memorials of the first part of the persecution are missing. From these documents which, incidentally, deal also with Franciscans in Shansi, Shensi, and Shantung, the present five have been selected. It should be noted that, in the Chinese, the last three documents are parts of one long report. For the sake of convenience, the translator has placed them under separate headings.

The Chinese texts as given in the *W'en Hsien Ts'ung Pien* is not always as accurate as could be desired. The mistakes are, however, seldom so serious as to render a correct understanding impossible. We have indicated these passages in the text.

The translator wishes to acknowledge his deep obligation to Professor Ch'i-chen Wang, of Columbia University, for his untiring interest and for checking with meticulous care these translations. To him goes the credit if the work is satisfactory. For the final wording, however, the translator alone is responsible.

#### DOCUMENT NO. 1.

##### *Memorial* <sup>38</sup>

Li Ch'eng-yeh, Provincial Treasurer and acting Governor of Kiangsi, most respectfully memorializes the Throne reporting the capture of an European missionary.

Recently I have received a joint request from the Governor General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and the Governor of Kwangtung to check the deposition of the European To-lo <sup>39</sup> who said that a man from Kiangsi with name Chiang Pao-lu <sup>40</sup> had brought Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko <sup>41</sup> who changed his name to Fang-Ch'i-chüeh, to Kiangsi to propagate his religion.

Because the request from Kwangtung only stated that Chiang Pao-lu was from Kiangsi and did not give his actual place of birth, I at once

38. *WHTP*, pp. 12b-14a.

39. Msgr. Francesco Giuseppe della Torre of Genova, Italy, a member of the Congregation of St. John the Baptist, Protonotary Apostolic and Procurator General of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. He was arrested in Canton where he had lived for the previous four years with the permission of the emperor. He was brought to Peking and thrown in prison, where he died on April 29, 1785, fifty-three years old." Letter of M. Dufresse, Manila, July 1786, *Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes* II, 323. It was not Msgr. della Torre who had given this information, but some of his Chinese servants. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

40. See Note 15.

41. Fr. Francisco de San Miguel, O.F.M. Cf. Note 14.

instructed the appropriate commissioner to give urgent orders to all officials in the province under his jurisdiction to search carefully through the population lists and find out where this Chiang Pao-lu lives, to arrest him and bring him to the provincial capital.

I also gave orders that each Prefecture [*Fu*] and Department [*Chow*] appoint someone to conduct careful investigations in their respective territories so that [this man] may be arrested and brought to trial.

At the same time I instructed Lu Wen-t'ao, Assistant Sub-prefect of Nan-ch'ang, to go Ta-yü, the first Hsien <sup>42</sup> to be reached upon entering Kiangsi from Kwangtung, and make inquiries among the various firms of river transportation to trace his itinerary.

The actions thus far taken I transmitted to Your Majesty in a memorial. <sup>43</sup> On the 19. day of the first moon [Febr. 27, 1785] I received the imperial rescript to that memorial: "What is the use of empty words. Has this man been captured?" —

Now, after Your servant had dispatched the previous memorial he searched through the old records and found that in the 32. year (1767) Chiang Jih-k'uei of Wan-an Hsien, persuaded by Wu Chün-shang of Lu-ling Hsien, <sup>44</sup> went to Kwangtung and brought illicitly into Kiangsi the Europeans, An-tang and Ni-t'u, to practice the religion of the Lord of Heaven. When they were captured, a report was sent in, and they were dealt with. <sup>45</sup>

Fearing that those who believe in the religion of the Lord of Heaven and follow it are not yet utterly exterminated in the mentioned Hsien and that the European brought into the province by Chiang Pao-lu might be hiding there, I appointed on the 17. day of the 12. moon of the past year [Jan. 27, 1785] the Assistant Magistrate of Kuei-ch'i Hsien, Ho Hao, who is very exact and painstaking in handling affairs, to conduct secret investigations.

On the 4. day of the 2. moon [March 14, 1785] Ho Hao reported the following:

I have searched, incognito, from around Lu-ling Hsien to Wan-an Hsien, and in the latter have found an European who lives there secretly and a man from that Hsien P'eng-I-hsü, who illicitly practices the religion of the Lord of Heaven. I immediately notified the District Magistrate, Ching Pen-i, and with him proceeded to arrest this P'eng I-hsü. In his possession we discovered a church calendar and religious pictures. Questioning him we found that the European was at present

42. *Hsien*, often translated as District, is the equivalent of our "County."

43. This memorial of which the above is a summary was sent to Peking on February 4, 1785 (49. year, 12. moon, 25 day) and is published in *WHTP*, p.2a. The memorial was sent back to the governor of Kiangsi with the emperor's remark at the bottom of the document. It reached Nan-ch'ang on Febr. 27, 1785.

44. Lu-ling Hsien is the present Chi-an (Kian) Hsien.

45. These two unidentified Franciscan missionaries were captured in \*Pao-ch'ang Hsien, Kwangtung (not in Kiangsi), were imprisoned and later sent back to Macao. *Kao-tsung Ch'un-huang-ti Shih-lu* (The "Veritable Records" of Kao-tsung Ch'un-huang-ti, 1736-1795) (Mukden, 1938), Ch. 793, 6b-7a and 19b-20a; Ch. 800, 15b-16a.



in T'ung Mu P'ing, in a mountain hut belonging to Liu Lin-kuei. We went, then, to that place, and arrested the European. With him we found prayerbooks, religious pictures, rosaries, crosses, and foreign money. We also arrested Liu Lin-kuei. In his house we found prayerbooks, and pictures. Except these there was nothing illegal.

When we questioned the European, he said that his family name was Man-da-la-de,<sup>46</sup> his name [*ming*] Sa-ke-la-men-to and his religious name Li Ma-no; that he was from Spain, Europe, and that he embarked on a foreign ship and came to Kwangtung where he lived in Macao in the Western church called *Fang-ch'i-ko T'ang*;<sup>47</sup> that he went secretly to Kiangsi and stayed with Liu Lin-kuei; that he does not know Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko at all; that he met, however, with Chiang Pao-lu, but does not know where he lives or where he is at present.

Thereupon we questioned Liu Lin-kuei and P'eng I-hsü. Their confessions tallied with the former. Now, besides continuing the investigations and sending the present prisoners to the provincial capital<sup>48</sup> for trial, I should like to send you this first report.

From this Your servant learned that this European had illicitly penetrated into the interior provinces to propagate his religion, and that Liu Lin-kuei had audaciously sheltered him and practices illicitly this religion. This is greatly against our state regulations.

The arrested European, as mentioned, in the report, is Man-da-la-de Sa-ke-la-men-to, and not Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko. But since he met with Chiang Pao-lu, it should not be difficult to find out where Chiang Pao-lu lives.

What year, month, and day this prisoner has been brought to Kiangsi, and by whom, and how he met Liu-kuei who invited him to stay with him, has not yet been determined. The prisoner mentioned the name of a church *Fang-ch'i-ko* which is similar to *Fang Ch'i-chüeh* whose original name is Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko. It might be that he is Fa-lan-ch'isse-ko and is trying to confound us.

Since Liu Lin-kuei asked this European to stay and exercise his ministry, the two men, Liu Lin-kuei and P'eng I-hsü, are surely not the only ones who practice this religion. They must all be hunted up and be dealt with.

Your servant has given strict orders to bring the prisoners to the provincial capital. When everything has been cleared up, I shall report to Your Majesty and send the prisoners to the Board of Punishment for final trial. I have also given strict orders to those appointed to search for Chiang Pao-lu, Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko, and their followers so that all of them may be arrested, and brought to the provincial capital for trial. I will admit not the slightest negligence or lenience so that they be utterly annihilated and the law be upheld.

The European sheltered by Liu Lin-kuei to preach the religion of the Lord of Heaven is quite different [from the Chinese] in speech and ap-

46. This is Fr. Manuel's Spanish family name; I have been unable to identify it.

47. Franciscan church.

48. Nan-ch'ang, Kiangsi.

pearance so that it is really difficult to deceive ear and eye of others. Yet, this District Magistrate, Ching Pen-i, has been in office for more than a year and has noticed nothing. If I had not especially appointed Ho Hao to go there under disguise and conduct investigations, he would have never been arrested. Blind and lax an official he is, we should treat Ching Pen-i not a bit leniently because he has accompanied the commissioner to arrest the prisoners. I shall, therefore, together with the present memorial, file another one to impeach him, and I shall ask for a decree to remove him from office — as a clear warning [to all].

I shall appoint someone to take the seal away from him and act as *locum tenens*. He must investigate into possible mishandling of public funds, or rice, and report on officials found negligent, so that they might be tried. I shall, then, file an impeaching memorial.

Besides that, I am sending this memorial describing how I appointed Ho Hao to arrest the European and how I am now conducting the trial, and offer it to Your Majesty for perusal and instruction. Ch'ien-lung 50. year, 2. moon, 5. day [March 15, 1785].

Imperial Rescript as of Ch'ien-lung 50 year, 2. moon, 15. day [March 25, 1785]: "The Board of Punishment has been informed."

## DOCUMENT NO. 2

*Memorial*<sup>49</sup>

I-hsing-a, Governor of Kiangsi, most respectfully memorializes the Throne reporting on the trial of the arrested European missionary.

I venture to state that the Provincial Treasurer Li Ch'eng-yeh, then acting Governor of Kiangsi, informed Your Majesty in a memorial that his commissioner Ho Hao searched for and arrested Li Ma-no who is a native of Europe, as well as Liu Lin-kuei who gave shelter to Li Ma-no in his house, and P'eng I-hsü who guided him to Lu-ling Hsien to preach his religion. He also reported that he had given orders to send the prisoners to the provincial capital for trial. At the same time he stated that strict orders had been given to search for and arrest Chiang Pao-lu and Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko. The Imperial Rescript was: The Board of Punishment has been informed.<sup>50</sup>

Now the magistrates of Kuei-ch'i Hsien reported that Chiang Pao-lu and Chi Yüeh-po<sup>51</sup> who sheltered Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko had been arrested. It was also reported that Li Ma-no and the other prisoners were being sent to the provincial capital by their respective magistrates.

During the trial we found how Li Ma-no had resolved to come to China to propagate his religion; how Liu Lin-kuei and others sheltered and guided him, joined his religion and observed the fasts; how Chiang Pao-lu guided

49. *WHTP*, pp. 25a-26a.

50. The foregoing is a summary of Document No.1.

51. Chi Yüeh-po (Job?) was a Catholic from I-huang Hsien. His original name was Chi Feng-li. In 1774, when 15 years of age, he was adopted by his uncle who was a Catholic and lived in Kuei-ch'i Hsien. Chi Yüeh-po eventually became a Catholic himself. For a while Fr. Francisco de San Miguel, O.F.M., lived in this house. *WHTP*, p. 28 b.

Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko into Kiangsi to preach their religion; how Chi Yüeh-po sheltered Fang Chichüeh for more than a month and then entrusted him to Chi Yu-yu<sup>52</sup> who guided him elsewhere to preach. These circumstances the prisoners confessed freely.

Being afraid that they might have held certain things back and not told the truth about others, we again subjected them separately to a series of rigorous examinations. But all prisoners swore that this was the truth and would change nothing. It appears to me that these men are just fanatical<sup>53</sup> in their belief, and seem not to worry about the consequences of having violated the law. They do not appear to have resorted to evasions or concealments.

Since Li Ma-no, Liu Lin-kuei, P'eng I-hsü, Chiang Pao-lu and Chi Yüeh-po seem all to be very important culprits in this case, I have now appointed, in compliance with a former decree of Li Ch'eng-yeh, a capable official to conduct these prisoners to the Board of Punishment [in Peking] to be dealt with. In addition we wrote out the confessions of each one of them and offer them to Your Majesty for examination.

As to the other twenty-four persons beguiled by these to enter this religion and observe the fasts, their circumstances are similar to cases already decided upon by the Board of Punishment, namely, that in cases involving foreign missionaries, those with major guilt should be exiled to Sinkiang, the others should be punished with beating and subsequent banishment, with wearing the Wooden Collar and heavy flogging and similar punishments. I have already suggested punishments for them according to the circumstances and sent a communication to the Board of Punishment to that effect. When the review of the Board comes back I shall deal with the case accordingly.

In regard to the crosses, books, and pictures discovered, I also await the Board's reply and, when it has arrived, I shall promptly destroy them by fire.

As for the culprits still at large, namely, Fang Ch'i-chüeh or Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko, and Chi Yu-yu and Jo-ya-ching,<sup>54</sup> I have already sent urgent requests to the province of Fukien and Kwangtung to search for them until they are arrested, and then to deal with them on the spot.

Hereby I am reporting to Your Majesty how Chiang Pao-lu and the other prisoner were arrested, how they were tried and dealt with. I am sending this to Your Majesty for information. Ch'ien-lung 50. year, 3. moon, 17. day [April 25, 1785].

Imperial Rescript as of Ch'ien-lung 50. year, 3. moon, 30. day [May 8, 1785]: "Seen."

52. Chi Yu-yu was a fellow-clansman of Chi Po-yüeh. He brought Fr. Francisco to Fukien. *W'HTP*, pp. 28a et seq. The last character of his name is written in three different ways.

53. Apparently the governor could not understand why people would sacrifice everything rather than give up a religion.

54. Joachim. See Note 10.

## DOCUMENT NO. 3

*Deposition of Fr. Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento during his Trial in Nan-ch'ang in 1785*<sup>55</sup>

Li Ma-no, when asked, made the following confession: I am 44 years [sui] of age<sup>56</sup> and born in Spain, Europe. My family name is Man-da-la-de. My [official] name [ming] is Sa-ke-la-mento. My religious name is Li Ma-no. My native country is all Catholic. When I was sixteen years old, I heard that the Chinese love virtue and resolved to go to China and propagate our religion.

In the 34. year of the Ch'ien-lung era [1769] I embarked from my native country for China by way of Mexico and the Philippines and it was not until two years later that I arrived in Macao, Kwangtung. There I found lodging in the Franciscan monastery and met Bo-erh-na-do<sup>57</sup> and An Po-lao,<sup>58</sup> both from Europe. We stayed together for several months.

When Jo-ya-ching, a Catholic, was about to go to Kiangsi, Bo-erh-na-do requested him to take me with him. Since my clothing and my appearance made me conspicuous, Jo-ya-ching bade me to put on Chinese clothes and a Chinese cap. Thus, in the winter of the 36. year of the Ch'ien-lung era [1771], I went together with Jo-ya-ching to Feng-shan, a place in Ta-yü Hsien in the Prefecture of Nan-an and there we stayed for one night in the field-hut of Tung Wan-tung. The following day I went to stay in the house of Tung Yu-liang, a Catholic whose religious name is Daniel, while Jo-ya-ching returned home.

Later, Liu Ma-tou, also known as Liu Ching-hua, of Kan Hsien asked me to go to the house of Liu Neng-ch'ung in Kan Hsien to preach. But because we could not understand one another, no one came to hear me. Having stayed there one night, I returned to the house of Tung Yu liang.

In the winter of the 37. year [1772], Liu T'ien-fu from Wanan Hsien took me to his house to preach the doctrine, and he and his son Liu Lin-kuei made me their *Shen-fu*.<sup>59</sup> Afterwards more than ten persons with family names like Huang, Liu, Chiang, P'eng, and Kuo joined the Church<sup>60</sup> one after the other.

In the eighth month of the 49. year [Oct.-Nov. 1784] P'eng I-hsü took me to Lu-ling Hsien where Hsiao Wen-shu and Hsiao Wen-k'an embraced [again] the Faith.<sup>60</sup> After staying with them one night I proceeded then to T'ai-ho Hsien Chu Wei-kan and Chu Yo-t'ing embraced [again]

55. *WHTP*, pp. 26a-27a.

56. According to Western reckoning he was 43 years old.

57. Bernardo de los Santos, O.F.M. See note 5.

58. Brother Martin Palau, O.F.M. See note 6.

59. Literally "Spiritual Father," the popular name for a Catholic priest in China.

60. The phrase *kuei-chiao* translated literally means "to return to the church," but is commonly used for "to join a religion, or church." As Document No. 5 shows, in some cases it retains its original meaning.



the Faith. I gave them holy pictures, religious books, and the church calendar. There I stayed for two days. Hu Fang-i and Hu Ch'ien-yu also joined the Faith, and I stayed [in their home] for two days. Then I returned to Wan-an where I always stayed in the house of Liu Lin-kuei.

In coming to China my only purpose was to explain and preach our religion, to exhort people to honor the Lord of Heaven, to observe the commandments and practice virtue, and thus to enable one to invite blessings in this life and reap the rewards in the next.<sup>61</sup> I have not engaged in such activities as leading people astray through heresy or witchcraft, or collecting funds and inciting assemblies, or inducing people to join the Church by giving them money.

After Jo-ya-ching had left, I never saw him again, and know neither his family name nor his place of birth. As for Tung Yuliang, Liu Ching-hua, and Chu Yu-lin I have been told that they are all dead.

In the 12. moon of the 48. year [ca. Jan. 1784] Chiang Pao-lu brought to me Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko who tried to persuade me to go to Shantung to preach the religion there, but Liu Linkuei would not let me go. Chiang Pao-lu left Fang Chi-chüeh. He stayed with us for more than a month. In the 2. moon [Febr.-March, 1784] Chiang Pao-lu returned and took him [Francisco] elsewhere. All this is according to the truth.

#### DOCUMENT NO. 4

##### *Deposition of Liu-kuei, the Host of Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento*<sup>62</sup>

Liu Lin-kuei, when asked, confessed the following: I am 26 years [sui] old and a native of Wan-an Hsien. My father is Liu T'ien-fu who is 79 years [sui] of age. He is both blind and deaf. At the present he is sick.

In the winter of the 37. year of the Ch'ien-lung era [1772], my father went to the house of Tung Yu liang in Ta-yü Hsien and brought back with him this European, Li Mano, to preach and practice the religion of the Lord of Heaven. My father and I made Li Ma-no our teacher. Later on there were Huang Li-hsin, Liu Shang-i, Liu Wen-hsiu, Liu Yung-fu, Chiang Jih-ti, Chiang Yü-lieh, P'eng Ming-kuang, P'eng Yüan-ying, P'eng I-hsü, Kuo Chi-ch'eng, Kuo Sung-ta, Kuo Tien-p'i, and Kuo Ho-shan who gradually joined us in the practice of our religion.

Twice, in the 44. year [1779] and in the 47. year [1782] of the Ch'ien-lung era, Li Ma-no sent me to Macao in Kwangtung to forward letters. In Macao there was a European, An Po-lao, who gave me in all

61. Document No. 5 has: "...so that we might now invite blessing and shall live in happiness in the world to come."

62. *WHTP*, pp. 27 a-b.

63. This is obviously an expression of Buddhist background and also has the wider meaning of "to embrace a religion," or "to be devout." It conveys the idea that the person in question is serious about his religion and willing to make sacrifices for it.

160 Mexican Dollars which I handed entirely over to Li Ma-no who received it and used it. He gave no money to my household.

What he taught me was to keep the commandments, to practice virtue, to observe the fasts, and to recite my prayers.<sup>63</sup> There were no such unlawful things as practice of magic or [political] agitation or inciting of assemblies.

In the 4. moon of the 46. year [April-May, 1781] Chiang Pao-lu came to my house to visit Li Ma-no. During the 7. moon of the 47. year [Aug.-Sept., 1782] he came for another visit. In the 12. moon of the 48. year [Dec., 1783-Jan. 1784] he brought to us the European Fa-lan-ch'i-sse-ko whose religious name is Fang Ch'i-chüeh. Fang Ch'i-chüeh wanted that Li Ma-no go to Shantung to preach, but I was against it. Fang Ch'i-chüeh stayed in my house for more than a month.

In the 2. moon of the 49. year [Febr.-March, 1784] when Chiang Pao-lu came again to see Fang Ch'i-chüeh, I told him that I could keep Fang Ch'i-chüeh no longer in my house. Chiang Paolu, then, took Fang Ch'i-chüeh and went away. This is the truth.

#### DOCUMENT NO. 5

##### *Deposition of P'eng I-hsü, Companion of Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento*<sup>64</sup>

P'eng I-hsü, when asked, confessed the following: I am 32 years [sui] old and a native of Wan-an Hsien. In the 37. year of the Ch'ien-lung era [1772] when Liu Lin-kuei's family invited the European Li Ma-no to preach the religion of the Lord of Heaven, I made Li Ma-no also my teacher.

In the beginning of the 8. moon of the 49. year [Sept.-Oct., 1784] I met a man from T'ai-ho Hsien with name Chu Wei-kan. Because his family had formerly belonged to the religion of the Lord of Heaven, I urged him he should as before practice his religion. Chu Wei-kan agreed. Later when I heard that in Luling Hsien the Hsiao family had also formerly belonged to the religion of the Lord of Heaven, I took Li Ma-no to the homes of Hsiao Wen-hu and Hsiao Wen-han, in the eighth moon, and we urged them to enter the religion. All followed [our advice]. We stayed there one night, and the following day we set out and went together to the home of Chu Wei-kan in T'ai-ho Hsien where we remained for two days. Chu Wei-kan together with his nephew Chu Yo-t'ing listened to the sermon<sup>65</sup> and agreed to enter the religion, and observe the fasts. Li Ma-no gave Chu Wei-kan holy pictures, religious books, and the church calendar. Afterwards we went to the homes of Hu Fang-i and Hu Chien-yu to urge them also to embrace the Faith. We stayed there for two days and then returned to Wan-an.

64. WHTP, p. 27 b.

65. *T'ing-t'ung*, to allow, does not make sense in this connection and might be a printing mistake. Following a suggestion of Prof. Wang I have substituted "*T'ing-chiang*, to attend instruction, to listen to a sermon.

The only thing which Li Ma-no taught us was to keep the commandments, to practice virtue, to observe the fasts, and to say our prayers, so that we might now invite blessing and shall live in happiness in the world to come. He never employed magic nor did he gather people to get money from them nor did he other unlawful things. I received no money from him. This is the truth.

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### ITEMS OF INTEREST

In an article entitled "The Festival at Assisi," *The Commonweal*, XLI (November 17, 1944), 134, reports that the four-day celebration held this year was an expression of Thanksgiving on the part of the Italians for the safety of Assisi and its shrines. These have come through this war in good state of preservation. One of the features was a public performance of Three Lauds by Fra Jacapone da Todi and Saint Francis: the first time in 700 years.

*The Tidings*, official organ of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles has issued a Special Junipero Serra Number to commemorate the 160th anniversary of Serra's death, August 28, 1784. This 48 page number is beautifully illustrated, and is available at One Dollar from *The Tidings*, 3241 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, 7, California.

A Franciscan Forum to be known as *Friars' Forum* has been organized under the auspices of Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois, and was conducted at Hamilton Hotel, Chicago. The Forum contemplates a series of six lectures for the first Sundays of the month from November 1944 through April 1945 at 8 P.M. The subjects treated were "Modern Problems in Criminology," by Rev. Fr. Eligius Weier, O.F.M.; "Education, what is it?" by Fr. Ferdinand Gruen, O.F.M.; "Library and Education," by Fr. Gervase Brinkmann, O.F.M.; "Christ, Francis and Peace," by Fr. Cyprian Emanuel, O.F.M.; "Masterpieces of Present-day Literature," by Fr. Victor Herman, O.F.M.; and "Christ's Position in the World," by Fr. Pancratius Freudinger, O.F.M. (*Franciscan Herald and Forum*, December 1, 1944, p. 383).

According to *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, XXXVI (July 28, 1944), page

224, Our Holy Father Pope Pius XII nominated Very Rev. Enrico Corrà, O.F.M. Conv., as Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office.

The sermon preached at the Solemn Mass, celebrated by the Custos of the Holy Land, the Most Rev. Albert Gori, O.F.M., in honor of St. Bernardine of Siena, was given in Arabic, by a native Franciscan Friar. This ceremony was part of a triduum of religious and academic exercises held in Jerusalem in observance of the fifth centenary of the great Franciscan apostle of the devotion to the Holy Name (*Crusader's Almanac*, 1945, p. 26).

The centenary of St. Bernardine of Siena was celebrated at Mt. St. Sepulchre, Washington, D.C., by a special triduum during which a series of sermons was preached by Father Alan McCoy, O.F.M. of the Santa Barbara Province, who is at present pursuing higher studies at the Catholic University.

In *The Sword of the Spirit*, October, 1944, Father Agnellus Andrew, O.F.M., was scheduled to give an address at Carnegie Hall, Northampton, on the subject, "Trade Warfare-Can We End It?"

According to the first number of the *Library Chronicle* of the University of Texas, (Summer, 1944) the following documents are listed among new acquisitions of the Archives Collection: *Sanchez Navarro Papers, 1658-1895*. These refer to the history of Mexico and Texas and shed much light on the social, economic, religious, administrative, and judicial life and activity of the haciendas and towns in the territory between Northern Coahuila and Southwestern Texas.

August, 1944 saw the appearance of the first number of *Paz y Bien*, the official review of the Franciscan Province of Sts. Peter and Paul, Michoacán, Mexico. The first issue contains such articles as: "San Bernadino de Siena Apóstol de Italia," by V. R. Leopold Campos, O.F.M., Provincial; "Siena, Joya de la Toscana," by R. P. Leopoldo Arvizu, O.F.M.; and "San Francisco y el Arte," by R. P. Eliseo Ruiz, O.F.M.

Padre Esteban Ibáñez, O.F.M. has just published in Madrid, the first Spanish-Riff Dictionary of the Berber language, spoken by the natives of Spanish Morocco. The work consists of 440 pages (*The Americas*, Oct. 1944).

According to a *Science Service* report which appeared in the New York Times, July 30, 1944, botanical evidence has been produced which allegedly militates against the authorship of the famous Voynich Manuscript. This unsolved cipher is usually attributed to Roger Bacon, who died in 1292. The new evidence against his authorship consists in the fact that at least two of the plants depicted in its illustrations were unknown in Europe until after Columbus returned from the New World. One of these illustrations is that of a sunflower; but it is definitely known that sunflower seeds were first brought to Europe in 1493. Thus Professor Hugh O'Neill, botanist of the Catholic University, fairly well established a formidable probability against the Voynich Manuscript being the handiwork Roger Bacon.

IRENÆUS HERSCHER, O.F.M.

St. Bonaventure College,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

The Pierpont Morgan Library of New York treasures a rare copy of Incunabula which was printed in 1474 in the monastery of the Friars Minor Conventual at Venice. The Friars employed the printer Andrew de Paltascichis to print in their monastery a number of popular books during the years 1474 to 1478. The book in question is a treatise on vices and virtues entitled : *Fiore de Virtu*. In the colophon on fol. 75, it is said that the book was printed "nel Beretin convento, De la cha [sa] grande, se chiama la giesia Graude [mistake for Grande], ornamento de l'alma Venesia." In 1477 another edition was issued by the same press. Only six works are known which have been printed at this monastic print-shop. The copy in the Morgan Library is the only one preserved in this country. The British Museum in London, the University Library of Cambridge, England, and the Marciana in Venice each possess another copy of the same issue.

The Friars Minor are represented among the printers of the fifteenth century by only one member, Frate Giovanni da Teramo of the Observants. This Friar was employed by the magistrate of the city of Ascoli to print the Statutes of the city of Ascoli. He printed the work in the Church of St. Mary de Solistano in Ascoli and finished it on April 9, 1496. The text is in Italian and covers 254 folio leaves or 508 pages, in large gothic letters. There is no copy of this incunabula in the American libraries. The monastery of St. Mary's was apparently a suppressed institution. When Friar Giovanni had finished his work to the satisfaction of his employers, he received from the magistrate the permission to call other Friars of the same Order to the same place and so the Friars Minor took possession of the church and monastery of St. Mary's de Solistano till they were banished from there in 1546 by the city authorities.

FR. JOHN M. LENHART, O.F.M.CAP.

*St. Augustine Monastery,*

We are pleased to take note of a very enthusiastic study on the life of St. Francis of Assisi, *The Blind Man with Perfect Vision*, by the Rev. Albert H. Dolan, O. Carm. (The Carmelite Press, Englewood, N.J., and Chicago, Ill.; 16 pages). The author sets out to show, on the basis of the *Cantic of the Sun*, that St. Francis was one of the few men in history who had perfect eye-sight, despite his impaired vision, because he was a lover of nature and a lover of the God of nature. We concur with the opinion of Father Peter Duffee, O.F.M., in the foreword, that this short but masterful work will be inspirational and instructive for the many lovers of the Seraph of Assisi, because the author shows a keen understanding and expert appreciation of the personality and character of Assisi's saint. Like a golden thread, a plea for peace, through the example of St. Francis, runs through the booklet.



The Office of the National Secretary of the Third Order in the United States recently issued four booklets of importance to directors of the Third Order of St. Francis, and of interest to those who are seeking information on Franciscan matters. The latter is particularly true of *The Original Rule of the Tertiaries* (pages 24; 10 cents), edited by Father Maximus Poppy, O.F.M., who has interpolated the pertinent paragraphs of the present rule by way of a running comment. The booklet should prove valuable to students of the Third Order. Father Thomas Grassmann, O.M.C., is the author of *A Rule of Life* (pages 32; 10 cents), which gives the fundamentals of the Third Order in short and pithy paragraphs. *The Third Order Director* (pages 32; 15 cents), in its second edition, gives practical hints for administering the fraternities. *The Ceremonial of Reception and Profession* (pages 60; 10 cents) should be welcomed by all directors because it has the ceremonial in the plural form with an English translation, and also adds the ceremonial for the reception and profession of single persons. Directors may have review copies for the asking, and are assured of special prices for quantities.

THEODORE ROEMER, O.F.M.CAP.

*St. Lawrence College,  
Mt. Calvary, Wis.*

## BOOKS REVIEWS

*Mirror of Christ: Francis of Assisi.* By Isidore O'Brien, O.F.M. (Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944, Pp. viii 205, \$2.50.)

Written with great artistry, with deep understanding, and with obvious love for the subject, this latest work is a credit to the growing list of the author's books. A selection of the Spiritual Book Associates, this latest one is a fast-moving, popular life of St. Francis written especially for American Tertiaries, although anyone can read it with profit and pleasure.

As may be expected in a work of this nature, there is no treatise on the sources, no new attempt to solve the Franciscan Question, no footnotes. No apology is made for using some of the charming legends that belong to the rich deposit of Franciscan tradition. Occasionally, however, the author makes use of legends of a much later date and of really questionable foundation, e.g., the alleged connection of Pica, the mother of St. Francis, with the French noble family of the Bourlemonts (not Boulemonts) of Provence, or Burgundy; he is by far more cautious about the equally untenable noble origin of Pietro Bernardone from the Moriconi family of Lucca; he also accepts the debatable presence of St. Francis at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the influence of the letter Tau springing from the opening sermon of Innocent III. Use could have been made of some of the later chronological studies, e.g., for the time of the war between Assisi and Perugia; the chapter on the origin of the *regula bullata* of 1223 is perhaps too simply told; and Psalm 141 in the concluding chapter, considering the readers intended, should have been given in English.

These defects, however, do not seriously diminish the value of the book. Although the fruits of the best historical research can be employed in popular books, still the general effect in view is the matter of prime importance. And in this well printed volume the author is unquestionably successful in drawing a faithful, beautiful, and impelling profile of the lovable Francis; he had no intention of making it a book of historical reference.

JOHN B. WUEST, O.F.M.

*Holy Family Monastery,  
Oldenburg, Indiana.*

*The city Set on a Hill.* By James A. Van der Veldt, O.F.M. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1944. Pp. vi+299. \$2.50.)

Since descriptive writing easily tends to become tedious, Father James takes the reader on a series of tours through Vatican City by letting him follow the adventures of fourteen-year-old Frank Angelos. Frank is the son of a foreign diplomat accredited to the Holy See. Because of the war the Angelos family is interned in the Vatican State for a lengthy period. This fact gives Frank the opportunity to explore, and it gives the author a chance to introduce a variety of characters competent to explain. By and large Father James uses his device successfully, clothing descriptive and informative material in sprightly conversational forms.

The book gives a general picture of the whole of Vatican City by outlining the entire area, describing the location and structure of its buildings and the purpose each serves. With this general picture as a background, the author weaves in historical and architectural data as he takes up the individual items of interest. Through Frank's visits to the museum and art galleries the reader gets "first lessons" in the arts of painting and sculpture. These two arts, along with the art of tapestry weaving, receive most extensive and detailed treatment for the obvious reason that to fail to know something about them is to miss one of the reasons why the Vatican is world famous.

The book is punctuated with a fair share of incident and anecdote worth remembering or recalling. It is written from the viewpoint of the adolescent, and is therefore not scientific in form. Well may it find a permanent place as collateral reading in the high school course. Mature readers too should find *The City Set on a Hill* interesting, for it deserves to be classed as popular in the best sense of the term. Father James spent twelve years in Rome. In telling this story of the Vatican he does not fail to point out the basic reason for its glory as only he can who knows and understands Rome, and loves the City because he loves and understands the Church. A map of Vatican City and a number of photographic illustrations help to clarify the text. MYLES PARSONS, O.F.M.CAP.

St. Lawrence College,  
Mount Calvary, Wis.

*Deaconship: Conferences on the Rite of Ordination.* By Aloysius Biskupek, S.V.D. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1944. Pp. 258. \$2.50)

Glossing the outstanding phrase of the "Pontificale," the writer evidences himself as a profound and acute delineator of the asceticism expected of a consecrated Deacon after he has received the septiform "robur" of the Holy Spirit to resist the devil and his temptations in the Name of the Lord.

St. Stephen full of Faith and the Holy Ghost prefigured in the Levites, but far surpassing them in wonders and signs among the people, is the heroic model to be reproduced in measure in the modern world.

Father Biskupek shows familiarity with the difficulties of the age we live in, and adroitly indicates how perennial spiritual principles should still be made operative.

Such books directly bearing on a particular state with pointed applications are all too scarce in the vernacular.

Primarily didactic and incisive this "libellus" may be found austere by those who prefer more of the affective and devotional; but it is anything but arid, glistening as it does under the constant spray of living water from the Savior's fountain of Scriptures.

Incorporation of the complete text of the Rite of Ordination to Deaconship somewhere in the volume would save some readers the need of using two books simultaneously, in order to appreciate how carefully the author has been guided by the liturgy in the selection of his topics.

Holy Name College,  
Washington, D.C.

MICHAEL HARDING, O.F.M.

*The Problem of Pain.* By C. S. Lewis. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. 148. \$1.50.)

With vigor, novelty, and freshness, Mr. C. S. Lewis attempts to explain "the intellectual Problem raised by suffering." His thesis is timely in view of the present war, and it is well sustained in his understanding of God's love for man. That love and the Fall of man are the answers to our tribulations, for God wants us remade according to His Plan, otherwise He views our remaking hopelessly.

The author presents a strange amalgam of Orthodox Christianity, Protestant Subjectivism, and Modern Skepticism. His concept of the human soul and its origin evidences this. For him the Bible is entirely a human book, and Hell is not eternal. St. Paul's teachings are often misunderstood.

Time and further thought on these latter points will, perhaps, beget a synthesis of genuine orthodoxy.

M. A. MARRON, O.F.M.

*St. Bonaventure College,*  
*St. Bonaventure, N.Y.*

*Particles of Modern Physics.* By J. D. Stranathan, Ph. D. (Philadelphia: The Blakiston Co. Pp. 571.)

The book is designed to familiarize the student, early in his career, with the many physical concepts to which studies of the "particles" of modern physics, the electron, positive rays, photons, positrons, neutrons, mesotrons, X-rays, alpha, beta, and gamma rays, and cosmic rays, have led.

Experimental evidence for the existence of these "particles" is emphasized, and concepts of modern physics are developed, in historical sequence for the most part, with critically chosen contributions convincingly described and well illustrated. Several copies of Nobel Prize winning photographs of the "Particles of Modern Physics" are included in the illustrations.

The treatment of the determination of the charge on the electron 'e', and Avogadro's number 'N', is comprehensive, and is a good illustration of the general method of determining physical constants with high accuracy through refinements in technique and through the sifting out of errors by comparison of different methods.

One chapter is devoted to experimental evidence that physical entities such as electrons, atoms, and molecules have a dual characteristic and behave sometimes as particles and sometimes as waves.

It is recommended as a survey course in modern physics for undergraduate students who have had the usual courses in general physics. Tabular data and numerous references are offered as an aid to further study and make the book a valuable reference for more advanced students. There are both subject and author indices.

J. A. MAHONEY

*St. Bonaventure College,*  
*St. Bonaventure, N.Y.*



*Le P. Alexis de Barbezieux.* By R. P. Justin de Montagnac, O.F.M. Cap. (Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montreal: La Reparation, 1943. Pp. 59.)

*L'Eglise Catholique au Canada.* By R. P. Georges de Quebec, O.F.M. Cap. (Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal: La Reparation, 1944. Pp. vii+82.)

In a sense both of these paper-bound volumes form a unit. The first gives a short sketch of the life of Father Alexis, co-founder of the Capuchin province in Canada. The second presents a short statistical history of the Church in Canada, the fifth thoroughly revised edition of a work that was issued in its first edition by Father Alexis back in 1921. Although both are destined for popular consumption, they are written in a scientific strain with references. Their value would have been enhanced by an index.

Father Alexis made a sufficiently important impression upon the later history of the Church in Canada that the facts of his life deserve perpetuation, and we can only hope that this will be done in more extensive fashion at some future date. We are impressed by the preparation he underwent for his future vocation as a lad in France, by his professorial and professional occupations in Cuba, by his employment as a private secretary in the Spanish embassy of Washington, by his ordination to the priesthood (1882) in France, by his teaching of history at the diocesan college of St. Paul in his home country, and by his assistance at the cathedral of his own diocese. Towards the end of 1887 he became a Capuchin. In 1890 he was sent to Canada, with Father Ladislav, to prepare a novitiate-refuge. This was the beginning of the present Capuchin province of St. Louis, in which he occupied all the important positions at one time or another. He was the prime mover in the foundation of most establishments in the embryo province. Most of his years were spent in the friaries at Ottawa, Quebec, and Montreal. In all of these places he gained the confidence of the hierarchy and clergy, but he was particularly known for his most active participation in the promotion of Catholic social action at Quebec. There is hardly a place of eastern Canada in which his name is not recalled with reverence, and even the western provinces speak of him with esteem. He died at the advanced age of eighty-six.

The first edition of the short statistical history of the Church in Canada was started as a labor of love by Father Alexis. Its latest edition is almost completely new. It is particularly valuable for its many statistical tables, derived from official sources. An appended map of the ecclesiastical boundaries in eastern Canada is most valuable, but a similar map for western Canada would be a precious adjunct.

Even though the first of these books is eulogistic in form, it should prove valuable in directing attention to a very active personage in the newer history of the Church in Canada. The second volume, even though polemical in as far as it points out the importance of the French element in the Church of Canada, should prove valuable enough by its official statistics to merit the attention of Church historians. The popular setting of both volumes should assure a widespread reading clientele.

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## Books Received

- HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE 38, MASS.:  
*Moirs*, by Wm. Chase Green (450pp.; \$5.00).
- GINN AND COMPANY, 70 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK, 11, N. Y.:  
*The People and Politics of Latin America*, by Mary W. Williams (v+888pp.; \$4.60); *Latin America, Its History and Culture*, by Fred J. Rippey and Lynn I. Perrigo (v+425pp.; \$1.76).
- DODD, MEAD & CO., 432 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.:  
*The City Set on A Hill*, by James A. Van der Veldt, O.F.M. (299pp.; \$2.50).
- THE MACMILLAN CO., FIFTH AVE., N. Y. C.:  
*Carmelite and Poet*, by Robert Sencourt (vii+278pp.).
- BRUCE PUBLISHING CO., MILWAUKEE, WISC.:  
*Canonical Procedure in Matrimonial Cases*, by Wm. J. Doheny (vii+737pp.; \$8.00);  
*A Realistic Philosophy*, by K. F. Reinhardt (xii+268pp.; \$2.75).
- B. HERDER BOOK CO., 15 & 17 SOUTH BROADWAY, ST. LOUIS, MO.:  
*Deaconship*, by Aloysius Biskupek (258pp.; \$2.50).
- L'UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL, QUÉBEC, CANADA:  
*Le Naturaliste Canadien* (252pp.).
- PANTHEON BOOKS INC., 41 WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 12, N. Y.:  
*The Angel of Peace*, by J. A. Comenius (127pp.; \$2.00).
- THE NEWMAN BOOKSHOP, WESTMINSTER, MD.:  
*Essays in Modern Scholasticism*, by Anton C. Pegis (295pp.).
- MOREHOUSE-GORHAM CO., NEW YORK:  
*The Church and the Papacy*, by T. G. Jalland, Ph.D. (568pp.).
- INTERNATIONAL UNIV. PRESS, NEW YORK:  
*Vladimir Solovyev on Godmanhood*, by Peter P. Zouboff (233pp.; \$3.75).
- PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, NEW YORK:  
*Between Heaven and Earth*, by Frans Werfel (252pp.; \$3.00);  
*Twentieth Century Philosophy*, by Dagobert D. Runes (539pp.; \$5.00);  
*The Dream of Descartes*, by Jacques Maritain (220pp.; \$3.00).
- ASSISI PRESS, DUBLIN, IRELAND:  
*Measgra Mbichil Uí Chleirigh*, by Fr. Sylvester O'Brien, O.F.M. (243pp.; \$5.00).
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# FRANCISCAN STUDIES

## SEPTEMBER, 1945

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VOLUME 26                      NEW SERIES, VOLUME 5                      NUMBER 3

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### CONTENTS

THE REBIRTH OF THE FINE ARTS AND FRANCISCAN THOUGHT . . . . .	
Introduction . . . . .	Harry B. Gutman 215
THE PROLOGUE TO OCKHAM'S EXPOSITION OF THE PHYSICS OF ARISTOTLE . . . . .	Gaudens E. Mohan, O.F.M. 235
CORNELIUS MUSSO, TRIDENTINE THEOLOGIAN AND ORATOR . . . . .	
. . . . .	Roger J. Bartman, O.F.M.Conv. 247
WHO KEPT THE FRANCISCAN RECOLLECTS OUT OF CANADA ? . . . .	
. . . . .	John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. 277
COMMENTARIES . . . . .	
Professor Pegis and Historical Philosophy . . . .	Ernest A. Moody 301
<i>The Nature and Origins of Scientism</i> . . . . .	
. . . . .	Philotheus Bæhner, O.F.M. 309
<b>In Memoriam</b>	
† Father Felix Kirsch, O.F.M.Cap., Ph. D., Litt. D. († March 21, 1945) . . . . .	317
FRANCISCANA . . . . .	319
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .	331
Doheny, <i>Canonical Procedure in Matrimonial Cases</i> ; Meyer, <i>The Pastoral Care of Souls</i> ; Longpré, <i>The Kingship of Christ  According to Saint Bonaventure and Blessed Duns Scotus</i> ; Hodgson, <i>The Doctrine of the Trinity</i> ; Bæhner, <i>The 'Tractatus  de Successivis' Attributed to William of Ockham</i> ; Pegis, <i>Essays  in Modern Scholasticism</i> ; de Valigny, <i>Chroniques des plus  anciennes Eglises de l'Acadie</i> ; Meersman, <i>The Friars Minor or  Franciscans in India</i> ; Pohlkamp, <i>First Franciscan Missionary in  Kentucky</i> ; Yu-Pin, <i>Eyes East</i> .	
BOOKS RECEIVED . . . . .	343



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## THE REBIRTH OF THE FINE ARTS AND FRANCISCAN THOUGHT

IN HIS commentaries of 1450, Lorenzo Ghiberti states, alluding to Giotto, that "the art of painting took its rise in Etruria, in a village near Florence, called Vespignano." For six hundred years, he alleges, the art of painting was forgotten. The Greeks, who took it up after this time, achieved only weak and extremely crude works. It was the firm conviction of Ghiberti, as well as of all his followers as artists and art historians up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, that, after dark centuries, art was reborn in the time of Giotto, and that it was not before this date that the art of the ancient Greeks and Romans was worthily continued. The same period witnessed also, according to general opinion, the rebirth of portraiture: Vasari writes that the first portrait made in modern times was that of St. Francis. In Ghiberti's and Vasari's writings, Giotto's name is connected with the pictorial decoration of Franciscan churches in Italy. He is also the classic master of the painted history of St. Francis.

The religious movement which issued from St. Francis made wide use of art as a means of expression. Numerous examples in poetry, architecture, sculpture, and painting, in Italy as well as in all the other countries belonging to the Western European orbit, reveal this. When, however, artistic language and artistic thought are used to express ideas of a high order, these do not fail to leave their mark on art and its style. In poetry the intenseness of Franciscan feeling created the form of the *laude*. Franciscan poetry is characterized by its endeavors to stir up the bottom of feeling and thought, and thus to reach, not only selected and esoteric circles, but the plain people as well. Therein deep religious feeling and the most powerful, as well as the most tender, mysticism are linked with unqualified realism and the simplicity of the plain man. Latin is replaced by the language of the people. Witness to this is the first hymn in the *lingua volgare*, the famous *Cantico Dello Frate Sole* of St. Francis himself, and the Italian *laude* by Jacopone da Todi — the first great monuments of genuine Italian literature. The same endeavor brought with it a distinct tendency to dramatic expression, as shown in the dialogistic form of many of these *laude*, which represent, most probably, the seed from which Italian drama developed. It is highly probable that in music also an analogous development, for which Franciscan spirit was responsible, took place.

We observe very similar symptoms within the world of the figurative arts. Here, too, Franciscanism tried to speak to the most refined minds as well as to the broad masses. Here, too, deep religiosity and mysticism are combined with realism and simplicity. Gradually, Byzantine art is replaced by Roman-Italian art. Intenseness of feeling led to dramatic concentration, to the dramatic art of the father of all modern art, the great Giotto.

The Franciscan influence on the figurative arts manifests itself most obviously in a new iconography around the person and the life of St. Francis, and in the changes which old iconography underwent under the guidance of Franciscan literature. Less obvious but of much greater importance is the fact that it was Franciscan sentiment and thought which assisted in the very birth of modern art, and which cleared the way for its triumphal rise by the acknow-

ledgement of the right of art to build up its own world of forms and ideas as an independent pillar of cultural life.

The first scholar who acknowledged the influence of Franciscanism upon the figurative arts was Hippolyte Taine, the founder of the "milieu" theory. Standing before Raphael's Madonna di Foligno, on March 15, 1864, he explained the purity, sincerity, and kindness of Raphael's art as the fruit of the atmosphere the artist enjoyed in his youth, living near Assisi, the "center of traditions of happy piety and pure love."<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the art of Perugia, he remarks that this gentle art seems dominated by the seraphic religiosity of Assisi.

Ten years later, Ruskin visited Umbria and was much impressed by the country of St. Francis and the personality of the Saint. He ascribed the resuscitation of the art of painting, lost "since Apelles" to the energy of the mendicant friars. In his "Mending the Sieve" he states that "the visionary faith of the Franciscans purified and animated the art of painting from its Roman pollution and its Byzantine palsy."

In 1881, Hermann Hettner published his paper "*Die Franziskaner in der Kunstgeschichte*."<sup>2</sup>

He points to Giunta Pisano, Jacobus Torriti, Cimabue, and, above all, to Giotto as artists who were closely connected with Franciscan feeling. Hettner was the first who was aware of the influence of Franciscan literature on the fine arts and on iconography. He referred especially to the Meditations — ascribed then to St. Bonaventure. He also pointed out a number of iconographical innovations as being based on Franciscan literary sources.

In 1884, Ernest Renan, in his essay on St. Francis,<sup>3</sup> expressed the opinion that all modern art issued from St. Francis' religious

1. *Voyage en Italie*, Paris, 1866.

2. *Nord und Süd*, vol. XIX, Breslau, 1881.

"Aus dem vertieften Innenleben, das durch die Franziskaner erweckt war, quoll jene durchgreifende Verinnerlichung und Durchgeistigung der künstlerischen Motive, welche in der zweiten Hälfte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts die Italienische Kunst aus der Enge der byzantinischen Fesseln löste und sie zur freien volkstümlichen Eigenart führte."

3. *Nouvelles Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*, Paris, 1884.



movement. One year later, Henry Thode published his voluminous study on "*Franz von Assissi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*," which expands the ideas of Hettner.

Since then numerous books and papers have dealt with this topic, all of them agreeing on the regenerating influence on art of St. Francis' love of nature and the positive attitude of the Franciscans towards the beauties of the world, and on the influence of Franciscan literature upon artistic iconography. But most of these authors overlooked completely the influence of the thought of the great Franciscan theologians and philosophers on art. It was the great merit of Dvorak to have stressed this point for the first time. The Czech scholar concentrated his studies on St. Thomas Aquinas and mentioned St. Bonaventure only cursorily in a footnote. Nevertheless, he seems to have understood clearly the special importance of the Seraphic Doctor for the development of the fine arts in Western Europe.

In his paper "*Idealismus und Naturalismus in der Gotischen Skulptur und Malerei*"<sup>4</sup> Dvorak tried to demonstrate that art, at the beginning of the Giottesque period, "constituted itself as a world of its own and as a new source of a particular view of life, independent from metaphysical presuppositions." Art in this way became autonomous and real in the significance of creative artists such as Ghiberti and Vasari.

This new art was born after those fateful and turbulent years which witnessed, within the life of only one generation, the decisive outcome of the century-old struggle between the Popes and the Emperors, the breakdown of the idea of the medieval empire, the rise of strong national states, and the birth of democracy in the free Italian cities. The reception of the Jewish-Arabian philosophy which brought about the rebirth of Aristotelianism occurred in the same short period, which was also a time of deep religious crises out of which the two great orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, emerged. Thus, the rebirth of art took place at a time which witnessed the birth of the modern ages. The simultaneous, and no

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4. *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 119, Vienna, 1918.

less world-shaking, events in the east, the fall of the Graeco-Roman empire and the installation of the Latin rulers in Constantinople, and the Mongol invasion, exercised only an indirect influence in the West. In the East, they marked the end of the hitherto unbroken Greco-Roman tradition and led, after the short interlude of the Latin emperors in Byzance and the knightly French and Italian dukes in Greece, to the separate cultural development of Eastern Europe. While the East closed its ancient period and entered its medieval age, which lasted up to the eighteenth century, Western Europe opened wide its doors to the rise of modern times.

St. Francis himself was a medieval phenomenon and his ascetism did not favor art. Modern art arose only when the medieval state of mind had changed. This change, however, took place during the thirteenth century and was, to a very great extent, the work of the Franciscan thinkers who followed St. Francis.

In art, the artist expresses his thought, his feeling, his will. Art itself, as a means of expression, is a kind of language, and the artist thinks in terms of this language. His trend of thought may be rational or irrational, he may use methods comparable to the strict rationalism of Aristotle, to the diaeretic method of Plato. He may proceed step by step, analyzing or synthesizing, or he may think in antitheses.

Yet, in contrast to philosophical and scientific thinking in concepts, artistic thinking is a thinking in objective intuitions. The artist expresses these intuitions in forms. Thus, art is the world of formal intuitions ordered by the law of harmony, *unitas in multitudine*, while science is the world of concepts, ordered by the law of causation. While the scientist's mind is bound to the discursive way of thinking, where truth is characterized by lack of contradiction, art uses the harmonizing way of thinking where truth is characterized by lack of opposition to unity. Artistic truth, therefore, though in practice often congruent to scientific truth, is, in principle, different from it, and so are the brother-worlds of art and science. For this reason, art seems, to an exclusively scientific mind, nothing but a world of beautiful phantasmagorias. On the other hand, it happens often that artists instinctively dislike syllogisms and con-

sider scientific and philosophic concepts and trains of thought as phantasmagorias, as Goethe did, who, although certainly a most powerful thinker, openly expressed his antagonism to the bad breed (*Gezücht*) of syllogisms. The influence of science on art and vice-versa, is, therefore, restricted and not always beneficial. The case of religion is different. If we try to define religion in the way we defined art and science, we may describe it as the world of concepts and intuitions, ordered by the reference to divinity, which includes both causation and harmony in itself. Thus, the world of religion is in close rapport to both science and art. The influence of religion on art was always powerful and helped art to reach its highest peaks.

In antiquity, art had been a living language. It died as such when the artists were not allowed any more to express themselves freely, when they were bound to a frozen tradition in the exact illustration of given texts. Being only translators into a dead language of half-understood forms, the artists became mere artisans.

During the thirteenth century this picture changes. The artist's world of thought was allowed to express itself artistically. In St. Francis times, art belonged to the "*artes mechanicae*" and was valued merely as handicraft. When Abbot Suger built St. Denis, he was considered the builder; his architects, sculptors, painters, and glass painters, although great masters, were only artisans in his employ. At the end of the fourteenth century, Cennini could place art as a mental power between science and poetry. Art had become autonomous, and the artisans had become artists again. Thus, in the eyes of Ghiberti and the Renaissance, the Pisani and Giotto were the first artists after the long darkness of the middle ages.

## II

One of the chief characteristics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the almost vehement ascent of individualism in the West. In the religious sphere it led to rise of heretic sects and to the appearance of religious geniuses like St. Francis. In politics

it caused the rise to power of energetic, self-willed, unscrupulous, and ambitious men. The former marshals and cabinet ministers of Henry VI, men like Markwald and Dietrich of Spoleto, were shining examples; they were soon followed by city tyrants such as Ezzelino da Romano, and by energetic leaders of the people in the free cities. The masses of the people were always in a state of open or latent rebellion against their rulers. The rising power of the wordly lords led over and over again to clashes with the ecclesiastical authorities, and often resulted in brutal encroachments such as the murder of Thomas of Becket, or the aggressive policy of the Svabian emperors. This individualistic trend in countries where strong personalities ruled led to a higher concentration of power in the hands of such rulers as Philippus Augustus of France. In countries, where the legitimate rulers were not strong enough to impose their will on their fiefs, just the opposite took place: the German princes became, then, almost independent dynasts, while the English noblemen enforced the issuance of the *Magna Charta Libertatum*. Similar developments took place in almost all the other countries of Europe, even in such remote countries as Hungary.

Thus, the foundations were laid for the strong national states of the future, while simultaneously democracy was experienced for the first time after the end of antiquity. The Church, being menaced by the reckless policy of the Svabian emperors, found itself very soon in alliance with the democratic forces, represented by the similarly threatened free cities of Italy. There was a trend towards democratic organization within the Church itself. The results were the two great mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, which contrasted sharply with the knightly and aristocratic orders of the preceding period of the first crusades. St. Francis himself was a purely religious genius, and his order was, in its beginning, a purely religious organization. When, however, the struggle between Frederic II and the Church flared up anew, we find both the Franciscans and the Dominicans in a highly political role, as a powerful militant force fighting for the Church against the hostile imperial policy.



Franciscanism developed with this rising individualism, the rise of the Italian democracies, and the rising struggle against the monarchy and feudalistic order of the past. The old wordly powers, in facing the new tendencies, were able to answer only with the erection of highly authoritarian structures such as the totalitarian state of Frederic II in Naples and Sicily. This political experiment was accompanied by the development of an academic art in Southern Italy, the so-called Campanian art. Neither the political organization of Frederic II nor this academic art took definite roots. Unless destroyed, the world of the Svabian emperor could only lead to a petrification of the old order. Similarly, Campanian art would have led to petrification as does all academicism. If Nicolo Pisano really came from Campania, he did not continue Campanian art, but filled with new life the empty shells of post-Roman classicism, thus truly resuscitating the art of Antiquity.

Religion, politics, wordly culture, and economics worked together in bringing about the new spirit. The dominant historical powers, however, were by far religion and politics. Cultural life, especially, developed almost exclusively in the shadow of religion. The Church succeeded in absorbing Aristotelianism and in dominating the life of the universities. It controlled in this way the wordly cultural life of the period. It was the Church and its saints, theologians, philosophers, and scientists, who were responsible for shaping the next future of morals, knowledge, and art. The strength of religious sentiment and its renaissance in the times of the Crusades and struggles against the emperors, fructified art and secured its development, inasmuch as religious institutions, the Papal court, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and religious orders, predominated among its patrons and protectors.

In the early days of Scholasticism, the ruling school of thought was Realism. In spite of forerunners such as Roscellin and Abelard, one can hardly speak of genuine Nominalism before Aristotle had been established as a philosophical authority replacing Plato and Neoplatonism. The Realists acknowledged the reality of the generic notions. All interest, therefore, was concentrated upon the "*universalia*," which were unattainable to corporeal vision and hardly attainable to formal imagination. Under the dominance of such

thought, art could not be inspired by visual things. At the time of St. Francis, Realism ruled almost indisputedly, and the art of his age, Romanesque, or Byzantine, was of a highly transcendental character. As already stated, the sensual element was not absolutely excluded; sometimes it seems to the modern spectator as if the artists, although only in minor details, tried then already to create from their own artistic vision, and basing their creations upon their senses and artistic imagination. But this happened infrequently, and was certainly not in agreement with the ruling trend of thought — we know that the Church did not like it. As St. Bernard wrote in his letters, the spectators would have been diverted from religious contemplation by representations of this kind.

In the last years of the eleventh century organic forms make their first appearance in architectonic decoration and monumental sculpture. In the twelfth century, but only sporadically, naturalistic details begin to appear. In the thirteenth century, however, the interest in the things of the outer world receives a new impetus emanating obviously from St. Francis. Seen through his eyes, the world and its single forms and creatures became lovable and beautiful, the whole universe, as St. Bonaventure exclaimed, a *pulcherrimum carmen*, a most beautiful poem. It is true that all this newly discovered beauty emanated from the Creator, that it was His beauty which could be seen in His creation, that things were not beautiful in themselves and, as a later writer expressed it, merely pleasant (*venustus*) in contrast to the Divine beauty (*pulchritudo*).<sup>5</sup> Yet, vision of the corporeal world could now become a source for art, and the delights caused by the pleasantness of the world won their place at the side of intellectual and spiritual delights. Almost immediately we see naturalism expand. Everywhere, naturalistic leaves and flowers embrace the capitals of the Gothic pillars and columns; human figures with individualistic features appear in the statues of the great cathedrals. The well-known pre-Giottoesque Madonna of the Pisan Museum shows surprisingly naturalistic details in the lateral scenes from the life

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5. Dionysius the Carthusian, *De venustate mundi et pulchritudine Dei*, Opera, t. XXXIV.

of St. Anne and Joachim. Nevertheless, and in spite of all this naturalism, the character of this art did not change, until the developing Nominalism created the possibility of a truly corporeal vision of the world, and until theology and philosophy acknowledged an artistic vision of it as a possible and as a genuine source of artistically expressible knowledge.

The assimilation of Aristotelianism began to take place shortly after the appearance of St. Francis. The greatest occidental scholar of his time, Alexander of Hales, who later on became a Franciscan friar, quoted Arabian authorities and based his thought, at least partly, on Aristotle. Robert of Grosseteste, another younger contemporary of St. Francis, promoted translation directly from the Greek. It was he who induced Roger Bacon to enter the Franciscan order. For the next generation of scholars and theologians, the generation dominated by Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Bonaventure, Aristotle was already "The Philosopher," and Averroes "The Commentator." Now Nominalism could develop and begin to supplant Realism. The older representatives of high Scholasticism adopted a sort of moderate Realism, but it was the Franciscan mind, in particular, which showed from the beginning a distinct trend towards Nominalism, which developed to full Nominalism among later Franciscans, especially with William of Ockham, the Inceptor Venerabilis. Combined with the particularly Franciscan affirmative attitude toward nature, a broad development of an art based upon corporeal vision was made possible.

At first the introduction of Aristotle as a philosophical authority led to an extremely intellectual philosophy, culminating in the great Dominicans, especially in St. Thomas Aquinas. For him reason is supreme: *Si intellectus et voluntas considerentur secundum se, sic intellectus eminentior.*<sup>6</sup> Sight and hearing, those senses which are concerned with beauty, minister to reason. Wholeness or perfection, due proportion or harmony, and clarity are the essentials of beauty. Clarity is concerned with the splendor and the color of things; thus, brightly colored things are called beautiful.<sup>7</sup> The

6. *Sum. Theol.* I,Q. LXXXII, art. 3.

7. *Sum. Theol.* I,Q. XXXIX, art. 8.

bright color, the so-called "*Schönfarbigkeit*" of the Gothic and, in Italy, the Sienese paintings, is based upon this esthetic view.

Already with Plato and Aristotle wholeness, proportion, and color determine beauty. Whereas Plato, the Platonists, and the Neoplatonists, as well as their successors in the middle ages gave reality to the concept of beauty and adhered, more or less outspokenly, to the theory of the identity of the beautiful and the good, Aristotle connects beauty with virtue but without equating them. St. Thomas follows Aristotle. He accepts the identity of good and beautiful "*in subjecto*," i.e. as far as the concrete content is concerned, but stresses the difference of both concepts "*in ratione*," i.e. as far as their scope and effect are in question. The good has to do with virtuous living and acting. The beautiful is pleasing through its apprehension. Beauty concerns exclusively the cognitive faculty and, since cognition is of the form, beauty belongs to the category of formal cause.<sup>8</sup>

The idea of beauty is, with St. Thomas, purely intellectual and objective. Predominant intellectualism, however, is not the most favorable condition for the development of art, which calls for a certain harmony between intellect, emotion, and will. Predominant intellectualism as well as unchecked emotionalism lead to mannerism — the first to cold academicism which, under certain circumstances, goes hand in hand with distortion of forms, the latter to the final dissolution of form. The early products of Dominican art all show some coldness and lack of emotional quality, as, for example, the frescoes of the Spanish Chapel in Sta. Maria Novella at Florence. It was only later that Dominican art also produced a great artist with a loving and burning soul, Fra Angelico da Fiesole.

At first sight, the esthetic views of St. Bonaventure do not seem to differ widely from those of St. Thomas. With him, too, beauty is, primarily, a matter of reason : *Scientia reddit opus pulcrum, voluntas reddit utile, perseverantia reddit stabile. Primum est in rationali, secundum in concupiscibili, tertium in irascibili.*<sup>9</sup>

8. *Sum. Theol.* I,Q,V., art. 4.

9. *De Red. Art. ad Theol.*, 3.



The Aristotelian concepts of wholeness, proportion, and splendor determine beauty for him also. Like St. Thomas, he accepts the Augustinian definitions of beauty, quoted by him in his *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*. As far as the relation between the beautiful and the good is concerned, St. Bonaventure also shares the view of St. Thomas, and declares, with reference to the identity theory as expressed by Dionysius Areopagita: *Ad illud quod obiicitur quod idem est bonum et pulcrum: dicendum quod Dionysius non vult dicere, quod sint unum ratione, sed quod sint unum re.*<sup>10</sup>

In strict contrast to St. Thomas, however, St. Bonaventure and the later Franciscan philosophers like Duns Scotus express voluntaristic opinions: *Ipse voluntas est supremum in anima.*<sup>11</sup> *Voluntas est nobilissimum et supremum substantiae rationalis. Liberum arbitrium sive voluntas est nobilissimum quod sit in anima.*<sup>12</sup> These are only a few of many similar statements picked up at random from St. Bonaventure's writings. St. Bonaventure's philosophy, although Aristotelian in the principle as the philosophy of his great Dominican friend, is, nevertheless, emotional and subjective. Subjective emotionalism, however, in due combination with reason, was a philosophy which always resulted in fruitful relations to art.

As a voluntarist, St. Bonaventure stresses the emotional and subjective elements in connection with beauty: *Pulcrum delectat et magis pulcrum magis delectat, ergo summe pulcrum summe delectat.*<sup>13</sup> *Pulcritudo naturaliter attrahit animam ad amorem.*<sup>14</sup>

In his distinction between moral and esthetic beauty, St. Bonaventure becomes more explicit than St. Thomas :

Sed pulcritudo ista refertur ad prototypum, quod nihilominus est in imagine pulcritudo, non solum in eo cuius est imago. Et potest, ibi reperiri duplex ratio pulcritudinis, quamvis in eo cuius est, non nisi una inveniatur. Quod patet, quia imago dicitur pulcra, quando bene protracta est, dicitur etiam pulcra, quando bene representat illum, ad quem est. Et quod ista sit ratio pulcritudinis, patet, quia contingit unam esse sine alia: quemadmodum

10. *Lib. Sent.* I, Dist. XXXI, P 2, art. 1,q.3.

11. *Lib. Sent.* III, Dist. XXVII, art. 1,q.3.

12. *Lib. Sent.* II, Dist. XVI, art. 2,q.3.

13. *Lib. Sent.* I, Dist. I, art. 3,q.1.

14. *Lib. Sent.* IV, Dist. XXX, Dub. VI.

dicitur imago diaboli pulcra, quando bene representat foeditatem diaboli, et tunc foeda est.<sup>15</sup>

While the esthetic views of St. Bonaventure, although differently tinged by his voluntaristic attitude, do not differ essentially from the esthetic views of St. Thomas and Aristotle, he, in contrast to St. Thomas, dares to make a decisive step in acknowledging, from the philosophical and theological standpoint, the possibility of a distinct artistic view of life. In *Liber II* of the Sentences, *Distinctio XXIII, Dubium IV*, he makes a distinction among six different kinds of vision. According to him, an object can be comprehended sensually, imaginatively, and intellectually, as St. Augustine taught. It can further, however, be comprehended in its similarity to another thing by way of a medium, as an effect of another thing, and, finally, in its essence:

Dicendum, quod modi vivendi possunt dupliciter distingui: vel a parte virtutis cognoscentis, vel a parte medii. Si a parte virtutis cognitivae, cum illa sit triplex, scilicet sensitiva exterior, imaginativa, et intellectiva; sic triplex distinguitur visio, videlicet corporalis, imaginativa et intellectualis.

Si autem a parte medii, tunc sex sunt differentiae, quarum sufficientia patet sic. Omne enim, quod videtur ab anima, aut videtur per sui essentiam, aut videtur per sui speciem, aut videtur per rem aliam, ab ipse simpliciter differentem. Si per sui essentiam videtur, sic est unus modus, qui ponitur sexto loco. Si per sui speciem, hoc potest tripliciter: nam illa species aut est omnino concreta materiae, partim abstracta. Concreta est, prout apprehenditur a sensu exteriori, licet sit ibi aliqua abstractio; simpliciter abstracta, prout apprehenditur ab imaginatione; et sunt tres primi modi.

Si autem res habet cognosci per rem ab ipsa differentem, hoc potest esse dupliciter: aut quia comparatur ad ipsam sub ratione similis, aut in ratione effectus. Et sic duo sunt modi, videlicet quartus et quintus.

Here we have before us the first attempt at a theoretical evaluation of the different kinds of possible visions of the world, including the visions of art and science. The fourth distinction is concerned with art; according to this, a special world of art is possible, and thus the autonomy of art is theoretically established and acknowledged by philosophy and theology, for the first time in the middle ages. With these sentences, St. Bonaventure gives art the green

15. *Lib. Sent. I, Dist. XXXI, P 2, art. 1, q. 3.*

light to proceed on its own particular way. Formely, Christian art was restricted to an old vocabulary of forms and patterns, and to mere illustration of given texts; now the artist is allowed to speak freely and to develop his world of thought and feeling. Soon the literary people, poets, writers, and preachers, began to borrow their iconographic imagination also from the fine arts. When we hear another great Franciscan, of the next century, St. Bernardine of Siena, preaching:

Just as the earth submerges in spring into an ocean of smells and magnificent colors, so is the Holy Virgin surrounded by the choirs of the angels, apostles, and martyrs; all swarm around Her and envelop Her in an atmosphere full of song and fragrance . . . singing and dancing, they form a row "*come tu vedi dipénto collá su alla Porta a Camollia . . .*"<sup>16</sup>

we feel that the preacher was not referring to a picture as a mere illustration in a *biblia pauperum*, but that he felt inspired by this work of art, and that it was, in this case, the artist, who had his share in inciting the preacher's imagination.

The concept of similitude, upon which the comparability of things is based, already plays a rôle in the older Scholastic literature, especially with Hugo of St. Victor, to whom St. Bonaventure refers in his discrimination between image and similitude:

Imago nominat conformitatem in quantitate, similitudo vero convenientiam in qualitate . . . imago est in potentia cognoscendi, et similitudo in potentia diligendi . . . similitudo vero dicit convenientiam in qualitate; et quia qualitas, in qua principaliter assimilatur anima Deo, est in voluntate sive in affectione: hinc est, quod similitudo ponitur principaliter in potentia affectiva.<sup>17</sup>

Here again, the voluntaristic leanings of St. Bonaventure come to the fore, in close connection with his acknowledgment of art as a mental world of its own.

Under such circumstances, it is natural that the creative artist gains in importance and reputation. St. Bonaventure consistently makes the first step in acknowledging the artist's high rank as a

16. S. Bernardino da Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari*, Milan, 1936, *Predica* 1.

17. *Lib. Sent.* II, Dist. XVI, art. II, q. 3.

sort of creator: *Si consideremus egressum, videbimus, quo effectus artificialis exit ab artefice, mediante similitudine existente in mente; per quam artifex excogitat et inde producit, sicut disposuit.*<sup>18</sup> The Seraphic Doctor uses the creative activity of the artist as a means to make his readers understand the creative activity of the Creator, and to demonstrate in this way the necessary attitude of His work of art, creation, and especially of man towards Him:

Producit enim artifex exterius opus assimilatum exemplari interiori eatenus, qua potest melius; et si talem effectum posset producere, quid ipsum amaret et cognosceret utique faceret; et si effectus ille cognosceret suum opificem, hoc esset mediante similitudine, secundum quam ab artefice processit; et si haberet obtenebratos oculos cognitionis, ut non posset supra se elevari, necesse esset ad hoc, ut ad cognitionem sui opificis duceretur, quod similitudo, per quam productus esset effectus, condescenderet usque ad illam naturam quae ab eo posset capi et cognosci.<sup>19</sup>

This is certainly one of the sources from which the *Deus Artifex* and *Divino Artista* theories of the Renaissance have their origin.

### III

As far as iconography is concerned, the vision of St. Francis himself, and the history of his life, became new religious topics and sought artistic representation. It is today generally assumed that the fresco in the Sacro Speco at Subiaco was the first portrait of St. Francis. The chapel was consecrated in 1228, and since it shows the Saint without nimbus and stigmata, the painting must have been finished before July 16th of that year. It reveals, on one hand, individual features, in contrast to earlier portraits of Popes and Emperors on coins, or in miniatures. On the other hand, however, it does not correspond with reports from contemporaries describing the Saint's actual corporeal appearance. It is a typical ideal portrait. Both its character as a portrait and its ideality are significant. The latter links it with Greek art and its successor, the

18. *De Red. Art. ad Theol.* 12.

19. *De Red. Art. ad Theol.* 12. The idea of God as *summus artifex* was known already in antiquity. In Christian literature it emerges for the first time, as far as I know, with St. Athanasius.



Byzantium art. Since the Byzantine representations in the later Middle Ages were strongly bound to the older iconography and new representations were forced into old schemes, thereby losing the true character of portraits, the case in question is different. After many centuries we meet a new creation once more. The fact that this event is connected with the personality of St. Francis shows again that Franciscanism and the new spirit which manifested itself in this way were related to each other.

Although it was mistakenly that Vasari names Cimabue as the author of the first portrait painted since Antiquity, it is nevertheless significant that St. Francis was associated in Vasari's mind with his alleged first example of modern portraiture. Portrait painting could not develop without individualistic thinking, and such individualism, naturally emerging from voluntarism, was introduced into the recognized philosophy of the Church by Franciscans.

Aside from his appearance in portraits ascribed to Berlinghieri, Margeritone d'Arezzo, and other masters, St. Francis soon appears in combination with other representations, especially with that of the Crucifixion and in the company of other saints. Generally, he wears a cowl, but sometimes he is pictured as a deacon. He appears pictured as a deacon in the Glorification of Assisi, and in the Disputa of Raphael.

Events in St. Francis' life appear early in artistic representations. The first example which I know of is the panel of 1235, attributed to Bonaventura Berlinghieri. It is a Byzantine painting, showing the portrait of the Saint flanked by six lateral paintings of miracles performed by St. Francis: the healing of the cripples, the healing of a lame man, the exorcism of the devils in Arezzo, the resurrection of a child, the sermon to the birds, and the Stigmatization. Similar representations painted within the thirteenth century, can be found in Sta. Croce, Florence, S. Francesco in Pistoia, S. Francesco in Pisa, and in the Gallery of Siena. The end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century are marked by the most famous sequence of such pictures, the frescoes in the upper church of Assisi. Not much later Giotto created the most beautiful series of frescoes, those describing events from the life of St. Francis found in Sta. Croce in Florence. Other series which he is reported to

have painted in Rimini and Ravenna are lost. Another famous series of such frescoes issued from Benozzo Gozzoli in S. Francesco at Montefalco. Sassetta painted an altarpiece for Borgo San Sepolcro with St. Francis in glory as the central panel, and a number of lateral pictures with the history of the Saint. These are now dispersed among various European collections. Among modern painters Boutet de Monvel also painted such a series.

The literary sources of these representations were the two *vitae* of St. Francis by Thomas of Celano, the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, and St. Bonaventure's *Life of St. Francis*. Whereas the earlier pictorial representations concentrated chiefly on the miracles ascribed to the Saint, the Assisi series relates events of his life in a narrative way. Giotto, in the Bardi Chapel of Sta. Croce, picks out the most significant scenes and monumentally shows them in paintings full of dramatic greatness.

Franciscan theologians were responsible for another class of representations demonstrating Franciscan thought and the Franciscan virtues in allegorical representations, such as the four frescoes on the vaults of the lower church of Assisi, ascribed by the older authors to Giotto himself, but recognized today as the work of a close follower and assistant of Giotto, the so-called Maestro delle Vele. They represent the wedding of St. Francis with Poverty, the allegory of Chastity, the allegory of Obedience, and St. Francis himself in glory.

St. Bonaventure's poem, *Lignum Vitae*, also gave rise to an artistic theme. We know of at least five representations of this subject within the fourteenth century: one, the oldest of these, and altogether the most comprehensive illustration of the poem, is in the Academy of Florence, and is attributed to Pacino da Bonaguida, a follower of Giotto. Another so-called Tree of Bonaventure was painted by Taddeo Gaddi in the refectory of Sta. Croce in Florence. It shows an approach to the iconography of the old theme of the Tree of Jesse by including the prophets in the picture. These are combined with St. Bonaventure's verses, which are written here and not replaced by pictorial representations as in the Tree of Pacino. Other Trees of Bonaventure are to be found in S. Antonio

in Padua, Sta. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo, and in later times, in many Franciscan churches from Faenza in the north to Bitonto and Brindisi in the south.

The Trees of St. Bonaventure demonstrate the interest of the Franciscans in mystic contemplation on the Cross. For the same reason, another theme, the history of the True Cross, was dear to them. We find such representations in Franciscan churches exclusively. Agnolo Gaddi painted a series of frescoes illustrating this legend in Sta. Croce at Florence. Another series, painted by Cenni di Ser Cenni, adorns S. Francesco at Volterra. The most famous sequence of such frescoes was painted in the fifteenth century by Piero della Francesca in S. Francesco at Arezzo. Apart from being one of the great master pieces of all times, this work is especially interesting as the last monument inspired by the idea of the Crusades.

But not only did a new iconography arise from Franciscanism. Franciscan thought also influenced old iconographic patterns. Up to the days of St. Francis, the Lord was generally painted as triumphant over death and suffering. In the first centuries of Christianity, representations showing his sufferings were deliberately avoided. The great series of the fourth and fifth centuries show the miracles performed by Him, and also the most varied scenes from His life, but not the Crucifixion, for example. Christ, on His way to Golgotha, does not bear the Cross Himself. Later on, Simon of Cyrene is shown helping Him. The dead Savior is shown, in representations of the Crucifixion, already at S. Clemente in Rome, and appears again, in occidental art, in a few representations of the eleventh century in Italy and of the twelfth century in France. Such representations are rather exceptional. The beautiful Crucifixion on the altar of Nicholas of Verdun, where Christ is also shown as dead, is so closely related to the Lord on the Cross which we know from the Franciscan sphere of Giunta Pisano and his followers — such as the Masters of St. Francis and St. Clare — that one can only assume that the famous representation of the Klosterneuburg altarpiece was painted long after Nicholas, and replaces the lost original of the twelfth century.

When the Crucifix first appeared in Western Europe, the Lord was generally painted with open eyes and as living. The mystic contemplation of the later Middle Ages since the time of St. Bernard and that of the Franciscans especially, loved to dwell on meditations on the Lord's sufferings. From now on, the Crucifix with the living Christ disappears, and the Lord on the Cross is always depicted as dead: His eyes are closed, His head fallen on His chest. A special predilection for the scenes of the Passion is characteristic of the art influenced by the Franciscans: in the Tree of Bonaventure of the Florentine Academy, no less than five representations of the crucified Savior are to be seen.

One of the products of Franciscan literature which became influential, as far as changes in the iconography of the life of the Lord were concerned, was Johannes de Caulibus' *Meditations on the Life of the Lord*. Especially in Northern art, this influence was widespread and great. In Italy, another consequence of the Franciscan influence began to play a rôle: In many instances, such as the most beautiful representation of the Lord's life in existence, the frescoes of Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua, we cannot but assume that many slight but significant changes in the traditional iconography had been the product of the artist's mind, and were only later taken over by literature. In Giotto's frescoes, such changes are restricted to the representation of feelings in a very personal way, to the introduction of new features created by an artist's imagination (such as the shadowy devil in the Betrayal) and to the dramatic concentration of the epic stories.

Another literary product of importance was the *Commentary of Nicholas of Lyra*. This was the authoritative commentary to the Scriptures during the whole period of the Renaissance. Whoever tried to get an explanation of any Biblical passage consulted this Commentary, and its traces can be found in many artistic representations of Biblical themes.

Finally, the writings of the great Franciscan theologians and philosophers are paralleled by formal representations of the same world of thought. The most grandiose example of such influence is shown in Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura. These



frescoes represent a *reductio artium ad theologiam* of Bonaventuran character. If we follow the downward movement, recognizable not only in the Disputa but in the whole Stanza, which Father Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., wrote about in his paper on the Disputa,<sup>20</sup> we see first the golden rays of light coming from above as we feel them in St. Bonaventure's *reductio*, which also begins with the quotation from the Epistle of St. James:

"Every best gift, and every perfect gift, is from above,  
coming down from the Father of lights."

(*To be continued*)

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20. *Franciscan Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1, March (1942).

## THE PROLOGUE TO OCKHAM'S EXPOSITION OF THE PHYSICS OF ARISTOTLE

WILLIAM OCKHAM wrote three works concerning the *Physics* of Aristotle: the *Summulæ in libros Physicorum*, the *Quæstiones in libros Physicorum*, and the *Expositio super octo libros Physicorum*. Of these three, the *Summulæ* is the only work which has appeared in print (in three separate editions between 1495 and 1537), and the *Quæstiones* is the only one which has come down to us in its entirety. The *Expositio* comes to us in eight incomplete manuscripts varying in length between three books and eight books. Two of these manuscripts supplied the text of the *Prologue* to the *Exposition* which is presented in the following pages.

The two manuscripts here compared are M - Oxford (Merton College 293) which ends abruptly at the beginning of Book 8, and V - Vatican (Vat. lat. 3062) which ends in the middle of Book 3. Since not one of the eight manuscripts is complete the possibility suggests itself that Ockham never finished this *Expositio*. Only time and more extended research can solve this problem.

There is another problem more pertinent to this paper: How to explain the difference between the two "Incipits". At least three manuscripts have the Vatican reading. The Oxford ms. is the only one, as far as can be determined at this time, which opens with the words "*Valde reprehensibilis*". It may be conjectured that the opening lines of the Oxford text come to us as a *reportatio* and that a later *ordinatio* completely altered the opening lines to the reading found in the Vatican and other manuscripts. In this *ordinatio* (if such it is) Ockham has a few remarks to make about Aristotle and the reasons for writing this exposition of his *Physics*. At this point the two manuscripts meet to form the main body of the *Prologue*.

Ockham divides his *Prologue* into four main sections :

- I. A discussion on "science" in general;
- II. the different meanings or acceptations of the word "science";
- III. certain conclusions to be drawn as a result of these distinctions;
- IV. a discussion of Natural Science (or *Philosophia Naturalis*).

The following is a schematic presentation of the thoughts he develops under each of the major headings:—

I. *Concerning Science in general.*

- 1) Science is a quality existing subjectively in the soul, or it is a collection of such qualities;
- 2) i.e., science is a *habitus*.

II. *Different Meanings of the term "science".*

- A. 1) *Scientia est certa notitia alicuius veri* (i.e., "science" is equated with certain knowledge of a true proposition, but this knowledge is based on authority).
- 2) *Scientia est certa et evidens notitia alicuius veri* (knowledge based on experience).
- 3) *Scientia est certa et evidens notitia alicuius veri et necessarii* (i.e., knowledge of principles and conclusions following therefrom).
- 4) *Scientia est certa et evidens notitia alicuius veri et necessarii ex præmissis necessariis in syllogismo* (i.e., "science" is equated with demonstration in the strict sense). Science in this sense is distinguished from *Intellectus* and *Sapientia*.
- B. "Science" can also be distinguished according as it is applied to
  - 5) knowledge of a conclusion, or
  - 6) knowledge of a complete syllogism.
- C. 7) Science can be a single *habitus*, or
- 8) it can be a collection of *habitus*.

### III. *Conclusions.*

- 1) Metaphysics, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy are called "sciences" in the sense of II. C. 8 *supra* (i.e., these sciences are not a single *habitus* but a collection of *habitus*).
- 2) No science (in the sense of II. C. 7 & 8 *supra*) has more than two causes; they have final and efficient causes but no material and formal causes.
- 3) Science in the sense of II. C. 8 does not have one subject only, but has different subjects according to the different parts of the science.
- 4) So the expression "the subject of a science" has two meanings:
  - (a) that which receives the science (the intellect);
  - (b) that about which something is known.
- 5) The science of Natural Philosophy, therefore, does not have a single subject (in the sense of III. 4b *supra*) because it is not a single *habitus* but a collection of *habitus*.

### IV. *Concerning Natural Science (or Philosophy) in Particular.*

- 1) The subject of Natural Philosophy, strictly speaking, is not real things but terms of first intention — i.e., concepts or *intentions animæ* which stand for real things.
- 2) Natural Science is distinguished from other sciences
  - (a) by its subjects, or
  - (b) by its predicates.
- 3) Natural science is speculative; but if parts of it deal with human acts, then those parts are practical.
- 4) Explanation of the title of Aristotle's *Physics* (Liber de 'Physico Auditu').



*Expositio super octo libros Physicorum.*Oxford Manuscript  
(Merton Coll. 293)

Valde reprehensibilis videtur qui in sua perfectione acquirenda torpescit, cum omnia alia ab homine viventia et non viventia, sentientia et non sentientia . . . .<sup>1</sup> sibi competentibus, nisi impediuntur, diligenter insistant. Inter perfectiones autem humanas una de maioribus scientia aestimatur; circa quam Aristoteles, ut eam sibi acquireret et aliis influeret, per doctrinam sollicitate laboravit. Nam praeter scientias rationales, morales, et divinas, naturali scientiae operam dedit. Secunda autem pars scientiae naturalis traditae ab Aristotele est liber Physicorum cuius expositionem ad praesens intendo.

*Sed antequam.... (Page 239)*

videntur, sine invidia communicem, quia animo solummodo investigandi, non pertinacia contendendi, nec in alicuius iniuriam ad explanationem eorum quae Aristotelis sunt exquisita laboribus sine temeraria assertione procedam; et sicut nonnumquam aliquorum opiniones cum omni modestia sine malitia [reprehendo], ita paratus sum, etiam sine impatientia, si aliquid dixerō non consonum veritati reprehendi.

Caveat tamen corrector ne in malis principiis consuetudo aut favor aut odium de correctore nonnumquam faciat perversorem, et advertat quod non possum me singulorum opinionibus, quae se mutuo reprobant, coaptare.

Sane, licet vir iste multa et magna divinitus adiutus invenerit, nonnullos tamen impeditus humanitus errores immiscuit veritati.

Eapropter opiniones recitandas mihi nullus ascribat, cum non quid iuxta veritatem catholicam sentiam, sed quod istum philosophum approbasse, vel secundum sua principia, ut mihi videtur approbare debuisse putem, referre<sup>2</sup> proponam. De intentione alicuius diversa et adversa, cum ipse Scripturae Sacrae auctor non fuerit, sine periculo animae licitum est sentire; nec in hoc error contrahit pravitatem. Quinimo, in exercitatione huius unicuique sine periculo animae licitum est sentire nec liberum reservatur iudicium.

Expositurus itaque naturalem Aristotelis philosophiam a libro Physicorum incipiam: qui primus est.

Vatican Manuscript  
(Vat. lat. 3062)

Philosophos plurimos sapientiae titulo decoratos, qui tamquam luminaria fulgida splendoris scientiae ignorantiae tenebratos caligine illustrant, aetas praeterita protulit et nutrit. Inter alios autem philosophos, peritissimus Aristoteles non parvae nec contemnendae doctrinae praeclarus apparuit; qui, quasi lineis oculis, subtiliora (?) naturae rimatus, philosophiae naturalis abscondita posteris revelavit.

Et quoniam quidem multi libros eiusdem conati sunt exponere, visum est mihi et multis studioso rogantibus quid de eius intentione senserim ad studentium utilitatem conscribere. Nec quisquam, nisi invidus, mihi debet esse molestus, si ea quae probabilia mihi

1. *not. marg. illegibilis M*

2. *marg. V*

Sed antequam ad expositionem textus accedam, aliqua praeambula, sicut in principio Logicae feci, praemittam. Et quia forte expositio super Logicam ad manus aliquorum non deveniet,<sup>3</sup> qui tamen istam forte videbunt, idcirco aliqua ibidem dicta hic replicare, addendo aliqua,<sup>4</sup> non pigebit.

Est ergo primo videndum quid est scientia in generali. Secundo, aliquae distinctiones huius nominis 'scientia' sunt ponendae; tertio, ex dicendis<sup>5</sup> sunt aliquae conclusiones eliciendae; quarto, de Scientia Naturali, magis in speciali, est videndum.

Circa primum dicendum est quod scientia vel est quaedam qualitas existens subiective in anima vel est collectio aliquarum talium qualitatum animam informantium; et loquor tantum de scientia hominis. Hoc probatur: quia non minus est scientia quae est<sup>6</sup> habitus, talis qualitas quam actus scientiae, sed actus scientiae est talis qualitas; ergo, et scientia, quae est habitus, est talis qualitas. Major videtur manifesta; minorem probro: Quia impossibile est contradictoria successive verificari de aliquo subiecto,<sup>7</sup> nisi sit aliqua mutatio; scilicet acquisitio alicuius rei vel deperditio vel productio vel destructio vel motus localis; sed nulla tali mutatione existente in aliquo alio ab anima rationali potest anima<sup>8</sup> intelligere quod non prius intelligebat per hoc quod vult intelligere aliquid quod non prius intellexit; ergo anima habet aliquod<sup>9</sup> quod prius non habuit. Sed illud non potest dari nisi intellectio vel volitio; ergo volitio vel intellectio est aliqua<sup>10</sup> talis qualitas; sed qua ratione volitio est talis qualitas eadem ratione<sup>11</sup> et intellectio. Et per consequens eadem ratione habitus scientiae est talis qualitas, vel aggregans tales qualitates.

Praeterea, potentia quae<sup>12</sup> habet quod prius non habuit<sup>13</sup> est magis habilis et prona<sup>14</sup> ad actum quam prius; sed manifeste experimur quod post multas cogitationes est aliquis habilior et prouior ad consimiles cogitationes nunc quam prius; ergo aliquid habet nunc quod prius non habuit. Sed illud non potest poni nisi habitus; ergo habitus est subiective in anima. Sed non potest esse aliquid tale<sup>15</sup> subiective in anima nisi sit qualitas; ergo habitus est qualitas. Et per consequens multo fortius habitus, qui est scientia, est qualitas animae.

Circa secundum sciendum quod scientia multipliciter accipitur, et sunt variae distinctiones scientiae etiam non subordinatae. Una est<sup>16</sup> quod scientia uno modo<sup>17</sup> est certa notitia alicuius veri, et sic sciuntur aliqua per fidem tantum, sicut dicimus nos scire quod Roma est magna civitas quam tamen non vidimus; et similiter dico quod<sup>18</sup> scio istum esse patrem meum et istam

3. perveniet V

4. alia V

5. dictis V

6. *marg.* M

7. *om.* V

8. aliquid *add.* V

9. aliquid V

10. alia V

11. *om.* V

12. nihil *add.* V

13. non *add.* V

14. et prona} *om.* M

15. esse . . . } aliquid tale esse V

16. una est} uno modo V

17. uno modo} *om.* V

18. *om.* V

esse matrem meam, et sic de aliis quae non sunt evidenter nota; quia tamen eis<sup>19</sup> sine omni dubitatione adhaeremus et sunt vera, dicimur<sup>20</sup> scire illa.

Aliter<sup>21</sup> accipitur scientia pro evidenti notitia, quando scilicet aliquid dicitur sciri non tantum propter testimonium narrantium sed, si hoc est,<sup>22</sup> ex notitia aliqua incomplexa terminorum aliquorum mediate vel immediate assentiremus ei. Sicut si nullus narret mihi quod paries est albus, ex hoc<sup>23</sup> quod video albedinem quae est in pariete, scire quod paries est albus, et ita est de aliis; et isto modo scientia non est tantum necessariorum, immo etiam est aliquorum contingentium sive sint contingentia ad utrumlibet sive alia.

Tertio modo dicitur scientia<sup>24</sup> notitia evidens alicuius necessarii. Et isto modo non sciuntur contingentia sed principia et conclusiones sequentes.

Quarto modo dicitur scientia notitia evidens veri necessarii nata causari ex notitia evidenti praemissarum necessariarum applicatarum per discursum syllogisticum. Et isto modo distinguitur scientia ab intellectu, qui est habitus principiorum, et etiam a sapientia, sicut docet Philosophus in<sup>25</sup> 6<sup>o</sup> Ethicorum\*.

Alia distinctio scientiae<sup>26</sup> est quod aliquando scientia accipitur pro notitia evidenti conclusionis, aliquando<sup>27</sup> pro tota notitia demonstrationis.

Alia distinctio scientiae est quod scientia aliquando accipitur pro uno habitu secundum numerum non includentem plures habitus specie distinctos, aliquando accipitur pro collectione multorum habituum ordinem determinatum et certum habentium. Et isto secundo modo accipitur scientia frequenter a Philosopho. Et scientia isto modo comprehendit tamquam partes aliquo modo integrales habitus principiorum et conclusionum, notitias terminorum, reprobationes falsorum argumentorum et errorum, et solutiones eorum; et sic dicitur Metaphysica esse scientia et Naturalis Philosophia esse scientia; et ita de aliis.

Tertio, ex istis<sup>28</sup> elliciendae sunt aliquae conclusiones. Prima est, quod Metaphysica,<sup>29</sup> similiter Mathematica et Scientia<sup>30</sup> Naturalis, non est una scientia secundum numerum illo modo quo haec albedo est una numero et iste calor et iste homo et iste asinus. Hanc proba: quia Metaphysica comprehendit multas conclusiones, circa quarum unam potest aliquis errare et ipsemet eodem tempore aliam scire, sicut per certam experientiam patet, quod idem primo addiscit unam conclusionem et postea aliam et tamen aliquando prius erravit circa utramque. Ex hoc arguo sic: error circa A et scientia circa A formaliter repugnant, sed error circa A et scientia circa B non repugnant<sup>31</sup> formaliter, quia stant simul; ergo scientia circa A et

19. *om.* V

20. dicimus V

21. similiter V

22. hoc est] nullus narret hoc esse V; nullus narret *delet exp.* M

23. non *add.* M; *delet exp.* V

24. quae est *add. in marg.* V

25. *om.* V

26. *om.* V

27. procedit *add.* M

28. ex istis] de iis V

29. et *add.* V

30. Philosophia V

31. repugnat V

\* l. c. cap. 6 (1140 b s.)

scientia circa B non sunt eiusdem rationis; quia quando aliqua<sup>32</sup> sunt eiusdem rationis, quidquid formaliter contrariatur uni, contrariatur<sup>33</sup> alteri. Sed si non sunt eiusdem rationis, et manifestum est quod neutrum est, neutrum est materia alterius nec forma; ergo non faciunt unum numero per se et per consequens comprehendens utrumque illorum non est unum numero per se.

Praeterea, Metaphysica comprehendit tam notitiam principiorum quam conclusionum, et similiter Philosophia Naturalis; sed habitus principiorum et conclusionum distinguuntur<sup>34</sup>: tum quia secundum Philosophum 1° Posteriorum\*, habitus principiorum est notior habitu conclusionum; sed idem non est notius se; tum quia notitia principii est causa notitiae conclusionis; idem autem non est causa sui ipsius. Ideo dicendum est quod Metaphysica non est una scientia numero, nec similiter Philosophia Naturalis. Sed Philosophia Naturalis est collectio multorum habituum, sicut dictum est; nec est aliter una nisi sicut civitas dicitur una vel populus dicitur unus vel exercitus comprehendens homines et equos et cetera necessaria dicitur unus; vel sicut regnum dicitur unum vel sicut universitas dicitur una vel sicut mundus dicitur unus.

Secunda conclusio sequens est ista, quod nulla scientia habet proprie<sup>35</sup> nisi duas causas proprie loquendo de causa, quia nullum accidens habet nisi<sup>36</sup> tantum duas causas; scilicet finalem et efficientem; quia secundum Philosophum 8° Metaphysicae\*\*, accidens non habet materiam ex qua sed in qua. Nunc autem materia in qua non est causa illius cuius est materia in qua, sicut materia non est causa formae sed compositi; ergo accidens non habet materiam. Sed si non habet causam materiale, non habet causam formalem; ergo nullum accidens habet nisi tantum duas causas essentielles; scilicet finalem et efficientem. Sed omnis scientia quae est una numero, est una qualitas numero sicut dictum est. Ergo, nulla talis scientia habet nisi tantum duas causas. Sed quando aliquid est aggregatum ex multis diversarum rationum, quorum nullum est materia alterius, si nullum illorum<sup>37</sup> habet materiam, nec illud aggregatum habet materiam; ergo scientia quae est collectio multorum talium habituum non habet materiam, nec per consequens habet causam formalem.

Ideo dicendum est, quod loquendo de virtute sermonis nulla scientia habet nisi tantum duas causas essentielles; scilicet efficientem et finalem. Sed quod dicitur quod 'quaelibet scientia habet causam materiale et formalem, si habeat veritatem,' est locutio impropria et metaphorica, et tunc vocatur materia illud de quo est scientia. Sed iste est improprius modus loquendi. Sic enim possem dicere quod color est materia visionis meae et quod color<sup>38</sup> est causa materialis visionis<sup>39</sup>, apprehensionis, et sensationis. Similiter forma improprie vocatur distinctio partium scientiae. Sic enim possem dicere quod tres lineae sunt causa formalis trianguli, et quod manus

32. alia V

33. et *add.* V

34. differunt V

35. *om.* V

36. *marg.* V

37. eorum V

38. calor V

39. *om.* V

\* I. c. cap. 2 (71 b 29 ss.)

\*\* I. c. cap. 4 (1044 b 8 ss.); text. com. 12



et pedes et<sup>40</sup> caput et cetera membra hominis sunt causa formalis hominis, quod non est proprie dictum. Ideo proprie loquendo scientia non habet nisi tantum<sup>41</sup> duas causas, quia non habet causam formalem nec materialem, quia proprie loquendo causa materialis est de essentia illius cuius est causa; sed subiectum scientiae non est de essentia scientiae sicut patet manifeste.

Similiter proprie loquendo causa materialis recipit formam in se, sed subiectum vel obiectum non recipit in se scientiam nec aliquam partem scientiae, sed solus intellectus recipit scientiam; ergo obiectum vel subiectum non est proprie loquendo causa materialis scientiae, et per consequens non habet causam formalem.

Tertia conclusio sequens est, quod talis scientia una unitate collectionis non habet unum subiectum, sed secundum diversas partes habet subiecta<sup>42</sup> diversa: quia subiectum scientiae non potest vocari nisi illud de quo scitur aliquid; sed in una scientia tali unitate sunt<sup>43</sup> multa de quo alia sciuntur; ergo talis scientia non habet tantum<sup>44</sup> unum subiectum.

Propter quod sciendum, quod subiectum scientiae dupliciter accipitur: uno modo pro illo quod recipit scientiam et habet scientiam in se subiective, sicut dicitur quod corpus vel superficies est subiectum albedinis et ignis est subiectum caloris, et isto modo subiectum scientiae est ipsemet intellectus; quia quaelibet scientia talis est accidens ipsius<sup>45</sup> intellectus. Alio modo dicitur subiectum scientiae illud de quo scitur aliquid; et sic accipit Philosophus in libro Posteriorum\*, et sic idem est subiectum conclusionis et scientiae, nec dicitur subiectum nisi quia est subiectum conclusionis. Et ideo quando sunt diversae conclusiones habentes diversa subiecta illo modo quo Logicus utitur hoc vocabulo 'subiectum', tunc illius scientiae quae est aggregata ex omnibus scientiis illarum conclusionum non est aliquid unum subiectum, sed diversarum partium sunt diversa subiecta. Quando autem omnes conclusiones habent idem subiectum, tunc totius aggregati est unum subiectum, illud, scilicet quod est subiectum omnium illarum conclusionum.

Similiter sciendum, quod differentia est inter obiectum et subiectum; nam obiectum scientiae est tota propositio nota, subiectum est pars illius propositionis; scilicet terminus subiectus. Sicut scientiae,<sup>46</sup> qua scio quod omnis homo est susceptibilis disciplinae, obiectum est tota propositio, sed subiectum est iste terminus 'homo'.

Ex istis patet, quod continere virtualiter totam notitiam conclusionum vel esse primum, ad quod omnia alia referuntur, et multa huiusmodi quae attribuuntur rationi<sup>47</sup> subiecti, non sunt de ratione subiecti, quia subiectum non plus continet virtualiter habitum quam praedicatum,<sup>48</sup> nec omnia plus attribuuntur subiecto quam alii. Et si aliquando hoc contingat, hoc accidit.

Ex istis etiam patet quod quaerere, quid est subiectum Logicae vel

40. possem dicere...] *marg.* V

41. *om.* V

42. significata V

43. sunt] non est tantum unum sed *add.* V

44. *om.* V

45. *om.* V

46. scientia V

47. ratione V

48. habitum...] subiectum quam praedicatum *in marg. corr.* V

\* *passim* in 1° Libro.

Philosophiae Naturalis vel Metaphysicae vel Mathematicae vel scientia moralis, nihil est quaerere, quia talis quaestio supponit quod aliquid sit subiectum Logicae et similiter Philosophiae Naturalis; quod est manifeste falsum. Quia nihil unum est subiectum totius sed diversarum partium diversa sunt subiecta. Unde, quaerere quid est subiectum Philosophiae Naturalis, est similis<sup>49</sup> quaestioni qua quaereretur, quis est rex mundi, quia<sup>50</sup> sicut nullus est unus<sup>51</sup> rex mundi sed unus est rex unius regni et alter alterius, sic est de subiectis diversarum<sup>52</sup> partium scientiae talis; nec plus<sup>53</sup> scientia, quae est talis collectio, habet unum subiectum quam mundus habet unum regem vel quam unum regnum habet unum comitem.

Tamen, pro dictis aliquorum auctorum qui videntur assignare unum<sup>54</sup> subiectum talium scientiarum est sciendum, quod non intendunt quod aliquid sit proprie subiectum primum totius, sed intendunt dicere quod inter omnia subiecta diversarum partium est aliquid unum primum aliqua primitate; et aliquando unum est primum una primitate et aliud est primum<sup>55</sup> alia primitate. Sicut in Metaphysica primum inter omnia subiecta primitate praedicationis est ens, sed primum primitate perfectionis est Deus; similiter in Philosophia Naturali primum subiectum primitate praedicationis est substantia naturalis vel aliquid aliud,<sup>56</sup> et primum primitate perfectionis est homo vel corpus caeleste vel aliquid tale. Et hoc intendunt auctores per talia verba et nihil aliud.

Quarto videndum est de Scientia Naturali magis in speciali, et videndum est de quibus considerat, quomodo ab aliis scientiis distinguitur,<sup>57</sup> sub qua parte Philosophiae continetur, et de libro Physicorum in speciali.

Circa primum dicendum est<sup>58</sup> quod Philosophia Naturalis considerat de substantiis sensibilibus et compositis ex materia et forma principaliter, et<sup>59</sup> secundo de aliquibus substantiis separatis. Ad cuius intellectum est sciendum quod omnis scientia est respectu complexi vel complexorum. Et sicut complexa sciuntur per scientiam, ita<sup>60</sup> incomplexa, ex quibus complexa componuntur, sunt illa de quibus illa scientia constat. Nunc autem ita est, quod complexa quae sciuntur per scientiam naturalem non componuntur ex rebus sensibilibus nec ex substantiis, sed componuntur ex intentionibus seu conceptibus animae communibus talibus rebus. Et ideo proprie loquendo Scientia Naturalis non est de rebus corporalibus et generabilibus nec de substantiis naturalibus nec de rebus mobilibus, quia tales res in<sup>61</sup> conclusione scita per Scientiam Naturalem non<sup>62</sup> subiiciuntur vel praedicantur.<sup>63</sup> Sed

49. simile V

50. modo V

51. om. V

52. scientiarum add. V

53. talis add. V

54. om. V

55. est primum] om. V

56. tale V

57. differt V

58. om. V

59. om. V

60. ista add. V

61. nulla add. V

62. om. V

63. subiiciuntur ...] subiicitur vel praedicatur V

proprie loquendo Scientia Naturalis est de intentionibus animae communibus talibus rebus et supponentibus praecise pro talibus rebus in multis propositionibus, quamvis in aliquibus propositionibus, sicut in prosequendo patebit, supponant tales conceptus pro seipsis. Et hoc est quod dicit Philosophus, quod scientia non est de singularibus, sed est de universalibus supponentibus pro ipsis singularibus. Tamen metaphorice et improprie loquendo dicitur Scientia Naturalis esse de corruptibilibus et<sup>64</sup> mobilibus, quia est<sup>65</sup> de illis terminis qui pro talibus supponunt.

Et quod sic<sup>66</sup> sit, ostendo: Nam accipimus<sup>67</sup> hanc propositionem: 'omnis substantia<sup>68</sup> componitur ex materia et forma'. Aut hic subiicitur res extra animam aut tantum<sup>69</sup> intentio in anima aut vox. Si res, et non res communis, quia nulla talis est, sicut ostendetur, et alibi frequenter est ostensum, ergo subiicitur alia res singularis, et non magis una quam alia; ergo vel quaelibet subiicitur vel nulla; et non quaelibet, quia multae res<sup>70</sup> sunt quae non intelliguntur a sciente talem propositionem quia multae sunt de quibus numquam cogitavit; ergo nulla talis res subiicitur. Ergo, subiicitur intentio vel vox, et habetur propositum.

Et si dicatur quod scientia realis est de rebus, ergo cum philosophia sit scientia realis, oportet quod sit de rebus et per consequens non est de intentionibus animae.

Similiter per hoc<sup>71</sup> distinguitur<sup>72</sup> Logica ab aliis scientiis, quia Logica est de intentionibus animae, aliae scientiae non.

Ad primum istorum dicendum est,<sup>73</sup> quod scientia realis non est de rebus, sed est de intentionibus supponentibus pro rebus, quia termini propositionum scitarum supponunt pro rebus. Unde in ista propositione scita: 'omnis ignis est calefactivus', subiicitur una intentio communis omni igni et pro omni igne supponit; et<sup>74</sup> ideo dicitur scientia realis et notitia.<sup>75</sup>

Per idem ad secundum dico,<sup>76</sup> quod Logica per hoc distinguitur<sup>77</sup> a scientiis realibus, quia scientiae reales sunt de intentionibus quia de universalibus supponentibus pro rebus; quia termini scientiarum realium, quamvis sint intentiones, tamen supponunt pro rebus. Sed Logica est de intentionibus supponentibus pro intentionibus; sicut in ista propositione: 'species praedicatur de pluribus differentibus numero', subiicitur una intentio et non supponit nisi pro intentionibus, et non pro rebus extra, quia nulla res extra praedicatur de pluribus nisi forte vox vel scriptum ad placitum instituentium.

Est tamen sciendum, quod Logica non negatur esse scientia realis, quasi

64. de *add.* V

65. *om.* V

66. ita V

67. accipio V

68. sensibilis *add.* V

69. aliqua *add.* V

70. *om.* V

71. per hoc] *marg.* V

72. differt V

73. *om.* V

74. *om.* V

75. scientia . . .] notitia realis V

76. *om.* V

77. differt V

non sit una res, nam ita vera<sup>78</sup> res est Logica sicut Scientia Naturalis. Sed ideo non dicitur<sup>79</sup> esse scientia realis, quia non est de intentionibus supponentibus pro rebus. Unde breviter<sup>80</sup>: omnes auctoritates dicentes talem scientiam esse de talibus vel talibus rebus debent sic glossari: hoc est de terminis supponentibus pro talibus rebus, sicut quod aliqua scientia dicitur esse de rebus generabilibus et corruptibilibus, hoc est, est<sup>81</sup> de terminis<sup>82</sup> supponentibus in propositionibus scitis pro talibus rebus generabilibus et corruptibilibus.<sup>83</sup>

Ex praedictis patet quomodo de corruptibilibus et mobilibus potest esse una scientia. Nam talibus est unum commune de quo necessario praedicantur propriae passionis sicut hoc commune 'corpus corruptibile' est commune omni rei corruptibili et de isto communi praedicantur necessario multa. Sic etiam de impossibilibus potest esse scientia. Nam hoc commune 'impossibile' est commune omnibus impossibilibus et de isto communi<sup>84</sup> pro impossibilibus aliquid vere praedicatur; nam haec est vera: 'omne impossibile repugnat necessario'. Et ita de hoc communi 'impossibile' <sup>85</sup> aliquid necessario praedicatur et vere scitur. Et sic est de aliis. Nam de hoc communi 'ens per accidens' aliquid vere et necessario praedicatur et ideo de hoc communi potest esse scientia. Et tamen de illo de quo praedicatur hoc commune non potest esse scientia proprie loquendo, sed tantum loquendo improprie, quomodo dixi iam, quod de rebus generabilibus est scientia. Et ideo multae distinctiones<sup>86</sup> quibus distinguitur quod res mobiles vel mutabiles possunt considerari sic vel sic, et quod uno modo sunt mutabiles et<sup>87</sup> alio modo sunt immutabiles et<sup>88</sup> uno modo sunt contingentes alio modo necessariae, nihil valent; nam eadem facilitate dicerem quod homo si consideretur sic est asinus, si aliter est bos, si tertio modo<sup>89</sup> est capra.

Unde intelligendum, quod consideratio mea vel tua nihil facit ad hoc, quod res sit mutabilis vel immutabilis, vel ad hoc, quod sit necessaria vel<sup>90</sup> incorruptibilis vel contingens, non plus quam facit ad hoc, quod tu sis albus vel niger, nec plus quam facit ad hoc, quod tu sis extra domum vel in domo. Sed diversa suppositio terminorum bene facit ad hoc, quod de termino<sup>91</sup> aliquid praedicatum vere praedicetur vel vere negetur. Unde ad hoc quod haec sit vera: 'res mutabilis est subiectum vel illud de quo scitur', bene facit suppositio istius termini, non consideratio rei extra. Nam si iste terminus 'res mutabilis' supponat<sup>92</sup> simpliciter pro se, tunc haec est vera: 'res mutabilis est'<sup>93</sup>; hoc est, hoc commune 'res mutabilis' est illud de quo

78. vere una V

79. negarem (?) V

80. dicentes *add.* V

81. *om.* V

82. scilicet *add.* V

83. generabilibus...] *transp. supra post terminis* V

84. communi impossibile supponente (?) *add. in marg.* M

85. *om.* V

86. dictiones V

87. quod *add.* V

88. quod *add.* V

89. sic *add.* V

90. et V

91. certo V

92. supponeret V

93. illud de quo aliquid scitur' *add.* V



aliquid scitur. Si autem supponat personaliter, tunc est falsa quia quaelibet singularis est falsa. Et ita diversa suppositio eiusdem termini bene facit ad hoc, quod de eodem termino vere negetur aliquid et vere affirmetur. Nam si in ista: 'homo est species', 'homo' supponat simpliciter, haec est vera. Et<sup>94</sup> si in ista<sup>95</sup>: 'homo non est species', idem terminus supponat personaliter, illa est etiam vera. Sed quod illa res quae est extra propter unam considerationem meam sit mutabilis et propter aliam considerationem meam sit immutabilis est simpliciter falsum et asinine dictum, sicut si vellem dicere, quod Sortes propter unam considerationem meam est albus et propter alteram<sup>96</sup> est niger. Tamen si vellem uti isto termino aequivoce, puta pro uno homine nigro et pro uno alio homine albo, tunc ista: 'Sortes est albus' est vera, si<sup>97</sup> hoc nomen 'Sortes' accipiat pro illo homine albo: et haec: 'Sortes est niger', est vera, si accipiat<sup>98</sup> pro alio homine nigro. Sicut est de ista: 'omnis canis est animal', quod<sup>99</sup> si canis stet pro animali latrabili tantum, tunc est vera: si iste terminus 'canis' stet pro caelesti sidere tantum,<sup>100</sup> tunc est falsa. Et sic distinguere propositiones est ars tradita a Philosopho; non autem dicere quod eadem res secundum unam considerationem est asinus et eadem secundum considerationem est capra. Nec unquam talis modus loquendi a Philosopho invenitur, et est<sup>101</sup> talis modus loquendi occasio multorum errorum in simplicibus et inexpertis.

Circa secundum sciendum quod ista scientia distinguitur<sup>102</sup> ab aliis vel penes subiecta sua vel penes praedicata; quia hic tam distinctio subiectorum quam praedicatorum<sup>103</sup> conclusorum de subiectis sufficit ad distinctionem scientiarum. Tamen qualiter hoc sit intelligendum magis forte<sup>104</sup> super Metaphysicam ostendetur. Verumtamen sciendum est, quod aliqua eadem veritas potest pertinere ad distinctas scientias, sicut alibi est ostensum.

Circa tertium dicendum est, quod<sup>105</sup> scientia pro maiori parte est speculativa, quia illa scientia quae non est de operibus<sup>106</sup> nostris est speculativa. Sed ista scientia est huiusmodi, sicut manifeste patet. Ergo, ista notitia est speculativa. Verumtamen, si sit aliqua pars Philosophiae Naturalis quae sit de operibus<sup>107</sup> nostris circa quae elicienda potest notitia illa dirigere, illa pars Scientiae Naturalis erit practica, et non speculativa.

Circa quantum dicitur iste liber<sup>108</sup> 'Liber Physicorum', hoc est, liber naturalium secundum modum<sup>109</sup> praeexpositum, vel dicitur liber de 'Physico Audit', quia forte auditores istius libri<sup>110</sup> audientes solam reportationem scripserunt. Sed de hoc non est magna cura.

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94. *interl.* V  
95. *autem add.* V  
96. *aliam* V  
97. *ista add.* V  
98. *accipitur* V  
99. *quia* V  
100. *om.* V  
101. *om.* M  
102. *differt* V

103. *etiam add.* V  
104. *formaliter* M  
105. *ista add.* V  
106. *operationibus* V  
107. *operationibus* V  
108. *om.* V  
109. *secundum modum*] *sermonum* V  
110. *istius libri*] *istum librum* V

CORNELIUS MUSSO, TRIDENTINE THEOLOGIAN  
AND ORATOR  
(1511-1574)

THE sixteenth century is filled with many characters of historical importance. They completely overshadow others who in another age would have stood out prominently, perhaps, but are now shrouded in obscurity. Such an almost forgotten person is the Conventual Franciscan Cornelius Musso. Though no towering giant in the Catholic reformation of the sixteenth century, he deserves mention for the part he played in that grave crisis of Catholicism. He must be counted among those churchmen who recognized the necessity of reform, and who bent their zeal and talents towards this objective.

Not simply a reformer, this Franciscan was a product of the late Renaissance in Italy. As a humanist he preached and wrote, but as a worthy son of the Church he encouraged and aided true reform. It is in this latter aspect of reformer that he deserves mention. He was one of the comparatively few who took up the task of reform at the Council of Trent. For this he gave his life as a preacher, as a participant in the Council of Trent, as a reforming bishop in his own diocese of Bitonto, at the same time maintaining the characteristics of the humanists.

Though the sources of his life are rather scanty, there is sufficient material for an adequate treatment. Since nothing has so far appeared about him in English, this sketch is presented to fill the gap.

I. EARLY CAREER (1511-1541)

Cornelius Musso was born, April 16, 1511, in the town of Piacenza, Italy. His father, Francis Marie de' Mussi, was a gentle-

man of Piacenza; his mother, Cornelia, belonged to the noble family de' Landi of the same place.<sup>1</sup> When expecting her child Cornelia was in great anguish and vowed the unborn offspring to St. Francis.<sup>2</sup> The boy was born without mishap and was given the name of Nicholas. In his early youth he appeared docile, devout, and inclined to study. The tenacity of his memory, even in his early years, was remarked upon by his family and friends.<sup>4</sup>

When Nicholas was nine years old he heard about the vow of his mother, and immediately entered the Order of the Friars Minor Conventual.<sup>1</sup> He received the habit at their convent in Piacenza, and chose to be called Friar Cornelius in memory of his mother.

The young Minorite could not long keep his marvelous memory a secret when it became known that he repeated a sermon verbatim after having heard it but once.<sup>6</sup> This came to the attention of Fra Jacobo Rosa de Candoza, who was one of the outstanding preachers at Piacenza in all the fiery eloquence of his Sicilian ancestry.<sup>7</sup> He took the young friar under his tutelage and imparted to him the elements of oratory. At the same time Cornelius applied himself to the study of the humanities, and soon developed a taste for the classics, especially the oratory of Cicero and the style of Seneca.

At the age of twelve Cornelius was permitted to preach publicly in the church at Piacenza. This now seems incredible, but the fact is confirmed by historians.<sup>8</sup> So popular did the young friar become that the people flocked from far and near to hear his sermons. As Wadding says: "The people came to hear his sermons as though to a place where miracles occurred."<sup>9</sup>

As soon as Cornelius had sufficiently impressed the local audience, Fra Jacob took him to visit the orators and poets of renown. On one of these occasions the young orator attracted the attention of

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1. F. A. Benoffi, "Degli Studi Nell' Ordine dei Minori," *Miscellanea Francescana*, XXXI (1931), 158.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Quaracchi, Florence, 1933), XX, p. 494.

5. After 1517 the Friars Minor were divided into Observants and Conventuals.

6. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Wadding, *op. cit.*, p. 294; Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 158. This practice of permitting youngsters to preach in church was not unusual. Even in our days youths preach to relatives and friends in Ara Coeli of Rome.

9. L. Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Nerdecchia, Rome, 1906), I. p. 66.

Lionello Pio, Prince of Carpi, who sent him with commendatory letters to Venice in order that he might present himself to the senators of the city and to Fr. Archangelo da Cuma, General of the Crocchieri.<sup>10</sup> Being requested to preach before the august assembly of senators, he performed the task with the greatest ease and grace. This feat endeared him particularly to the renowned Peter Zano and the well-known Luigi Carnaro. The Franciscan Fathers in Venice, however, could promise themselves no great benefit from him.<sup>11</sup> His youthful age and the smallness of his stature weighed against him, as he was characteristically slender of body and piqued of countenance even later in life.<sup>12</sup>

Shortly after his appearance before the senate, Cornelius was called to Udine, where he preached the Lenten course in the parish church. The young orator was so successful that the event was registered in the public books of the city.<sup>13</sup> One might wonder, however, whether the novelty of hearing a youth preach did not produce a greater effect upon the hearers than the content of the sermons.

Upon his return to Venice he began his philosophical studies. Under the Conventual Padovano di Barletta, who later wrote a life of Duns Scotus, he studied Franciscan philosophy.<sup>14</sup> In Padua he continued under Zimana, from whom he learned Averrhoistic interpretations.<sup>15</sup> Jacob Malafossa da Borgio, public professor at the university, trained him in metaphysics.<sup>16</sup> Without intermission he entered upon the theological studies, and during this course listened to public lectures given by Master Simonetta. At this same time he is also supposed to have studied Greek under Lampidio, Hebrew and Chaldaic under other eminent scholars.<sup>17</sup> This information comes from Joseph Musso in his *Vita Cornelii Mussi*. He also tells us that Cornelius studied Hebrew in Bologna, and Chaldaic in Rome.

10. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Hubert Jedin, "Der Franziskaner Cornelius Musso, Bischof von Bitonto," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLI (1933), 209.

13. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

14. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

15. Padua was the center for the philosophy of Averrhoes, which was characterized by its theory on the origin of ideas and other Arabian tenets.

16. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

17. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XX, p. 494.



When all this took place is not known.<sup>18</sup> Benoffi places these studies about the year 1537,<sup>19</sup> but it is not certain where he obtained his information.

Meanwhile Cornelius passed the examination given in the *Studia Generalia* of his order, and received the degree of master of studies. To prove his efficiency he engaged in scholastic disputations, and was acclaimed for his eloquence. How much preaching he had done during his studies cannot be ascertained, but it is known that he continued to pursue the *belles-lettres*. He particularly admired Pietro Bembo,<sup>20</sup> the humanist who had retired to Padua at this time and attracted many scholars from all parts of Italy. From him he acquired greater elegance in Latin and Italian. At this time he was definitely a humanist. In 1529 he preached in the cathedral of Padua and was highly praised. Bembo and Contarini said that he reminded them of an angel, and that he inflamed mortal minds with heavenly thoughts.<sup>21</sup>

The fame of the young friar soon spread to Rome. In 1530 he delivered a homily in the papal chapel before Clement VII and a number of cardinals.<sup>22</sup> Though records do not reveal the reactions of the august assemblage, it can be supposed that the eloquence of this small friar of nineteen years must have presented quite a spectacle. More important events, however, bore upon the Holy See, for at this time Germany was slowly passing over to Protestantism, and Clement VII had to bargain with Francis I and Charles V. In this same year Wolsey died in disgrace, and Henry VIII prepared to bargain with Parliament against the Pope.<sup>23</sup>

Musso, therefore, returned to Padua to resume his studies, and continued to interest himself in disputations. In the year 1532, twenty-one years old, he won the laureate of masters at the University of Padua and was affiliated with its college of theology. At the same time the general of his order appointed him regent

18. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

19. *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

20. Pietro Bembo, one of the most brilliant of the humanists, lived from 1470 to 1547. He was papal secretary under Leo X. Later at Padua he encouraged literary productions in the Italian language. He died as cardinal at the time of Paul III.

21. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XVIII, p. 96.

22. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

23. Henry S. Lucas, *The Renaissance and Reformation* (Harper Bros., New York, 1934), p. 541.

of studies in the convent of St. Anthony's basilica.<sup>24</sup> He did not give up the Lenten preaching that was bringing him great renown. He continued his friendship with Cardinal Pisani, administrator of Padua and visited Bembo's villa, where scholarly discussions were held almost daily. This is about the time when, as Benoffi says, Musso studied languages.<sup>25</sup>

In 1534 he attended the general chapter of the Conventual friars, held at Milan. Here he preached and disputed in his eloquent and elegant manner in the presence of Duke Francesco Sforza, who was so moved by the oratory of the friar that he appointed him metaphysician at the University of Padua. Musso set out at once for his newly acquired position, and soon made friends with L'Alciato and other learned men of the university. On the feast of the Epiphany, 1536, he preached in the principal church.<sup>26</sup>

But this turn of fortune was not destined to last long. Duke Sforza died suddenly, and left Milan without a successor. Francis I claimed the duchy for himself, but Charles V refused to accept this decision. A French army moved into Italy, and the third war between these rulers was commenced.<sup>27</sup> Under these conditions the school at Padua was dissolved. Musso went to Bologna, where he continued his lectures in metaphysics. During Lent and on feast days he preached on the epistles of St. Paul.

While he explained St. Paul according to the traditional Catholic theology, another preacher gave a strange interpretation. This caused a dispute between the followers of both preachers.<sup>28</sup> Very likely, Musso's opponent was Don Callisto, the Servite for whom he interceded in 1548 when he served on the Inquisition in Rome, as then he spoke of opposition ten years prior to the trial.<sup>29</sup> At any rate, the disturbance caused great alarm in the city. Cardinal Compeggio, the archbishop of Bologna, was in Venice to open a council. He hastened back to Bologna in 1537,<sup>30</sup> and soon "put out the fire

24. H. Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* (Herder, Freiburg, 1909), p. 690.

25. *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

26. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

27. Lucas, *op. cit.*, v. 471.

28. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

29. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

30. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

of the schism." He urged Musso to continue his preaching, commended him for the good work he was doing for the faith, and put him in the good graces of Pope Paul III.<sup>31</sup>

Other recommendations were forwarded by Guido Ascanio Sforza and Alessandro Farnese. The Pope, therefore, called Musso to Rome.<sup>32</sup> As soon as he saw the young friar, he recognized him as the preacher who had appeared before Clement VII, and he appointed him house theologian of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, nephew of the Pope, as also preacher in Cardinal Farnese's titular church of San Lorenzo in Damaso.<sup>33</sup> He held these positions from 1538 to 1542.

In 1539 Musso delivered sermons on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. They were attended by cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, and they enhanced his fame throughout Rome. It was very probably during these sermons that he contested with Bernardino Ochino, the Capuchin preacher,<sup>34</sup> who had long been suspected by Caraffa of holding heretical views,<sup>35</sup> and whom Musso directly called a heretic.<sup>36</sup> During this same year Musso also lectured on Philosophy at Padua, and in 1540 he continued his lectures in metaphysics.

Meanwhile he preached his now famous Lenten discourses in Italian. But he could be equally eloquent in Latin; these Latin homilies, influenced by Bembo's style, are literary gems. Such discourses were still welcomed at the papal court, even though a growing suspicion of humanists was developing. Yet records show that at this time Musso was gladly accepted by all. Once when he had gone to Bologna to deliver Latin homilies, the Pope and the cardinals expressed their regret at not being able to hear them. As soon as he returned he was commanded to repeat them at the papal table. Among those present were Paul III, Cardinals Contarini, Pole, Grimini, Cortese, Caraffa, Savelli, and a number of bishops and theologians.<sup>37</sup>

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31. *Ibid.*

32. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

34. Nicolas Papini, "Lectores Publici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Conventualium," *Miscellanea Francescana*, XXXI (1931), 170.

35. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

36. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

37. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

Musso now became ambitious for the cardinalate. On November 14, 1541, upon the recommendation of Cardinal Farnese, Paul III made him bishop of the united sees of Foropolis and Bertinoro.<sup>38</sup> It is difficult to say just how much this new dignity pleased the new prelate, for he kept away from his diocese for a year and spent this time in the cloisters of Padua and Piacenza.<sup>39</sup>

The year 1541 also marks the end of Musso's early career. He was now thirty years of age and quite ambitious. His personality and his life, thus far without moral blemish, found wide acclaim.<sup>40</sup> After this he was fired with energy towards the reform movement in the Church. Yet his past training in humanistic ideas, his flowery style of preaching, his connection with the last scions of humanism, all combined to make the next period of his life a time of struggle. His sincerity and orthodoxy were doubted; his zeal for the Church was mixed with personal ambition. As a result, his actions are not easy to analyze, nor to understand.

## II. AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1541-1550)

Although Cornelius Musso now had a bishopric, he made little effort to go to his diocese.<sup>41</sup> We find him there for a short visit only in 1542. He was back in Rome the same year and preached on the Apostolic Symbol.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile Paul III had published a Bull convoking a general council for November 1, 1542.<sup>43</sup> He chose Trent because it was in neutral territory, in accordance with the demand of Charles V. He also commissioned Bishop Musso to accompany Cardinal Farnese to the Council. The Council convened on the appointed day, but so few members were present that the Pope was compelled to

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38. Van Gulik-Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi* (1503-1600) (Monastery, Regensburg, 1910), III, p. 154.

39. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

40. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XX, p. 494.

41. R. V. Laurence, "The Church and Reform," *The Cambridge Modern History* (Macmillan, New York, 1934), II, p. 643.

42. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

43. Mourret-Thompson, *A History of the Catholic Church* (Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1939), V, 543.



adjourn the Council until the month of July, 1543. The war between Charles V and Francis I had much to do with the adjournment.<sup>44</sup>

Bishop Musso now left Trent returning to Padua, and from there he visited Bertinoro. On August 15 he preached in the church of the Conventual friars at Venice.<sup>45</sup> But Cardinal Farnese was bound on obtaining some promotion for the bishop. Upon his return to Rome he, therefore, resigned his own bishopric of Bitonto and had it turned over to Musso on October 27, 1544.<sup>46</sup> Even though the cardinal thereby showed his attachment to the friar-bishop, he himself still retained many other bishoprics and other benefices.<sup>47</sup> Whether the change satisfied Musso is difficult to state. Even though it brought a better income, Bitonto had the disadvantage of being in Spanish territory. To insure harmony, Farnese introduced Musso to Pedro of Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, as a favorite of his uncle, Paul III.

But before the new bishop could visit Bitonto, the Pope was persuaded that the dissensions between the Empire and France would cease. Therefore, he issued the bull reconvoking the general council for the fourth Sunday of Lent, 1545.<sup>48</sup> Musso aided Farnese in the preparations. He arrived at Trent on March 24.<sup>49</sup> In April, Pedro of Toledo gave out orders that only four bishops from the Neapolitan kingdom, appointed by him, would be permitted to attend the Council as procurators for the rest.<sup>50</sup> Since Musso's bishopric was in Pedro's realm, this command affected him seriously. In a letter addressed to Cardinal Santapiosa on April 30, he gave voice to his suspicions and fears.<sup>51</sup> But the Pope issued a bull on April 17, 1545, commanding all bishops to be present in person, and forbidding representation by procurators.<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile Archduke Ferdinand of Austria had opened the Diet of Worms, March 24, 1545, and Luther had published his pamphlet, *Against*

44. Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes* (ed. Kerr) (Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1923), XI, 131.

45. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

46. Van Gulik-Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, p. 152.

47. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 139.

48. Stephen Ehses, *Concilium Tridentinum* (Herder, Freiburg, 1904), IX, p. 382.

49. Massarelli, *Concilii Tridentini Diarium* (ed. Sebastian Merkle) (Herder, Freiburg, 1901), I, p. 162.

50. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XII, 213.

51. The entire letter is printed in Ehses, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 412-413.

52. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 213.

*the Papacy in Rome Founded by the Devil.*" These troubles in the Empire caused a further delay in the opening of the Council.

On May 3, Bishop Musso and nine others were summoned by the legates and were informed of the Pope's desire for delay.<sup>53</sup> At the same time Cardinal Farnese was on his way to the emperor's court, where it was hoped an agreement could be made. As the result of this mission and the subsequent appeal to Francis to send his prelates, the consistory approved the opening of the Council. The solemn inauguration took place on December 13, the third Sunday in Advent.

Cornelius Musso was chosen by the assembly to deliver the opening address. His audience included four cardinals, four archbishops, twenty bishops, three abbots, five generals of religious orders, and thirty-five theologians.<sup>54</sup> To these He delivered the stirring address that began with the words: "Gaudete in Domino." It is a beautiful Latin discourse, and must have lasted almost two hours.

The effects of the speech are not easily analyzed. The Servite historian, Paulo Sarpi, attacks Musso intemperately, but even a non-Catholic historian calls Sarpi biased.<sup>55</sup> Pastor says that the speech was marked with had taste;<sup>56</sup> yet Pallavicini devotes an entire chapter of his book to refuting Sarpi's accusations. He shows that Sarpi in one place claims Musso to have been the most eloquent man of his day, but later speaks of the divided opinion of men when the records of Trent were spread abroad. Many thought Musso vain, other flattered him; some held that he was sincere, others thought him a reprobate.

Pallavicini maintains that Musso was chosen by the entire assembly to deliver the speech, but admits that the bishop did not live up to expectations.<sup>57</sup> Later, in the same chapter, Pallavicini declares that from common consent and because of his golden eloquence Musso was called "Chrysologus." In his sermon Musso

53. Ehses, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 373, n. 4.

54. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 183.

55. Mourret-Thompson, *op. cit.*, V, p. 545.

56. Laurence, *op. cit.*, II, p. 644.

57. *Op. cit.*, XII, p. 313.

58. *Op. cit.*, V, c. 8, n. 9.

was very dramatic in showing the need of the Council. He repeatedly declared that it would answer all questions proposed, and he requested that the members go on with their work regardless of all opposition from without. Perhaps he was too vehement in upholding the sacredness of the trust imposed upon them, especially at a time when many desired to placate the rulers and the heretics. He had no such intention. If he must be blamed, it must certainly not be from a theological, but from a political, viewpoint. His flowery language may have thrown suspicion upon his sincerity, but his later work at the Council disproves such a charge.

In the first sessions at Trent the order of business was arranged. The legates proposed a certain title, but Musso and some others suggested that "universalem ecclesiam representare"<sup>59</sup> be added. In this he was opposed by the legates and the majority of the assembly, thus putting himself "in the sin of the minority,"<sup>60</sup> and he lost. Letters were also sent to Rome blackening his name.<sup>61</sup> Apparently the Pope and Farnese knew about Musso's lack of diplomacy. A letter of Aureliano Cattaneo to Cardinal Madruzzo insinuates that the prelates of political importance were told to ignore Musso "lest his eloquence sway the Council."<sup>62</sup>

Further trouble came to Musso in the meeting of January 18. For years those outside the ecclesiastical state had clamored for a reform of morals. Kings and emperors berated the corruption of the curia and the clergy in general. But along with the necessity of reform the Church needed to be guarded from false reform.<sup>63</sup> The Protestant menace in particular necessitated the restatement of Christian belief. Paul III, therefore, decided that dogma should be treated first.<sup>64</sup> In a letter Cardinal Farnese expressed this view to the legates. As the representative of Farnese, Musso declared that dogma must be treated before reform measures were taken up.<sup>65</sup> Since such an attitude was out of conformity with the emperor's

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59. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 4.

60. Ehses, *op. cit.*, I, p. 374.

61. Godfrey Buchbell, *Concili Tridentini Epistolarum Collectio* (Herber, Freiburg, 1916), X, P. 337.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 860.

63. Mourret-Thompson, *op. cit.*, V, p. 543.

64. Buchbell, *op. cit.*, X, p. 337.

65. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 383, 473.

ideas, Cardinal Madruzzi and the other legates were determined to give preference to the reform measures.<sup>66</sup> These men tried to satisfy the Lutherans as Charles V had done for years.

The legates considered Musso their enemy on account of his strong stand, and they complained to Rome. He wrote to Farnese, warning the Cardinal that unless the Council treat of dogma it would become the slave of Caesar. But his voice was not heard, not even by his patron Farnese.<sup>68</sup> Severolus calls this opposition of Musso his "lapsus."<sup>69</sup> The legates and the Pope finally compromised by planning to treat of dogma and reform simultaneously. For this purpose three large committees were formed, each headed by a legate. Thus it was hoped that the Council would not be led by the influence of some vehement, eloquent, and stirring orator.<sup>70</sup> This reference is evidently directed against Musso.

The first three sessions of the Council were then devoted to organization. Thereafter the question of dogma was quietly taken up, assuring a victory for Musso. Thus it was that his uncompromising attitude made the Council of Trent a religious assembly, rather than a political gathering.

The fourth session took up the question of Scripture and tradition. Musso was requested by the Cardinal Legate Del Monte to serve on the Scripture commission.<sup>71</sup> On March 27, 1546, the abuses were reviewed and the commission was commanded to formulate a decree. Later Musso read this decree, and then delivered a long address, in which he encouraged the members of the Council to put the decree into force.<sup>72</sup> Thereafter the Council considered ecclesiastical reform, which principally treated of the residence of bishops, and the plurality of benefices.<sup>73</sup>

The Pope was determine next to proceed with the important question of original sin, despite the complaints of the emperor

66. Ehses, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 568.

67. Buchbell, *op. cit.*, X, p. 337.

68. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

69. Severolus, *Concilii Tridentini Diarium* (ed. S. Merkle) (Herder, Freiburg, 1901).

70. Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, II, p. 62.

71. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, III, p. 537.

72. Severolus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 37.

73. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 239.



and the threatened irreparable breach with the Protestants.<sup>74</sup> Musso took an active part in all these discussions. When, on May 31,<sup>75</sup> he read his treatise on original sin, he stated in part: "We were all in Adam when he sinned, before we were born; when we are born, Adam is in us. When, however, Christ suffered for us, all of us were in him, and thus our sins were taken away through Him. The stain of sin is in all, not through imitation, but through propagation."<sup>76</sup> Many of Musso's expressions are found in the decree itself.<sup>77</sup> This is sufficient proof against those who deny that Musso was a theologian.<sup>78</sup>

When the question of the Immaculate Conception came before the assembly, Musso was among the strongest defenders of this privilege of the Blessed Virgin. True to the Franciscan tradition, he said to the Council: "Let the synod declare that they will not judge of this, but that they will hold that which the Church has always held."<sup>79</sup> Previously he had declared that it was not fitting to enter into any argument concerning the Immaculate Conception, for it was already accepted by the universal consensus of the Church.<sup>80</sup> His suggestion is quite evident in the resulting decree.<sup>81</sup>

The next discussion concerned justification. Musso was one of the members of the commission of theologians appointed to study the matter.<sup>82</sup> In one of the sessions San Felicio, bishop of La Cava, maintained that justification comes by faith alone. A Greek bishop opposed him very strenuously. In the struggle that ensued San Felicio tore the beard of the Greek bishop. There was much excitement among the members of the commission, and San Felicio was expelled from the Council, and was even threatened with excommunication for his disorderly conduct. Musso pleaded for him, and even begged to have the punishment transferred to himself;<sup>83</sup>

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74. Mourret-Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

75. Ehses, *op. cit.*, V, p. 175.

76. *Ibid.*

77. H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (Herder, Freiburg, 1927), no. 790-792.

78. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

79. Ehses, *op. cit.*, V, p. 202.

80. *Ibid.*, V, p. 168.

81. Denzinger, *op. cit.*, no. 792.

82. Ehses, *op. cit.*, V, p. 340.

83. *Ibid.*, V, p. 356.

through his influence San Felicio was absolved, and was permitted to remain. Pallavicini expresses it in these words: "But Bituntinus, whom the greater part of the fathers followed, pleaded for San Felicio."<sup>84</sup>

In later discussions Cervinus presented his tract on justification to the assembly, and Seripando expounded his views. Laynez the Jesuit spoke against Seripando, excluding the mediating theology of the Augustinian. Musso belonged to the moderate group led by Seripando, who finally wrote the redaction on justification, which is attributed to Musso. The latter corrected the original document at a later date.<sup>85</sup>

When the discussions were finished, Musso was appointed a member of the commission to make the original redaction.<sup>86</sup> In this he was the assistant secretary to Massarelli,<sup>87</sup> who is said to have communicated with his assistant frequently and often during the night.<sup>88</sup> Theologians consider the decree on justification the masterpiece of the council. Musso read the degree on the certitude of grace on July 30.<sup>89</sup> Throughout the drafting of the decree he was consulted, and he gave freely of his talent and literary genius to make the degree an outstanding document. It is probably Musso's greatest contribution to the Council of Trent. Although Michael Cervinus is credited by many historians as being responsible for the redaction, it cannot be denied that the phraseology and the structure were greatly influenced by Musso.

When the year 1546 drew near its close, the decree had not yet been promulgated, due chiefly to the emperor who endeavored to appease the Protestants. The legates had long feared trouble,<sup>90</sup> but now the Protestants took up arms. In August, Del Monte tried to have the Council moved to a safer city, but without immediate results.<sup>91</sup> On January 7, 1547, Musso declared to the assembly that

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84. Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 588.

85. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

86. Ehses, *op. cit.*, V, p. 704.

87. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 594.

88. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

89. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 560.

90. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 560.

91. Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

the decree on justification had been completed.<sup>92</sup> Six days later the final redaction was presented to the Council, and the decree on justification was promulgated amidst general applause.

Musso appealed to the legates for a reduction of the 700 florins demanded from him for board. His agent, Giovanni Mileti, having obtained the reduction, Musso was able to stay on.<sup>93</sup> He was then appointed to the commission on the sacraments and helped Massarelli in the redaction of the degrees on Baptism and Penance. In a letter to Farnese he complained about his health and insisted on some rest. He also warned his patron about the troubles at Trent and asserted that the Council could not be completed unless it were returned to Italy.<sup>94</sup>

Before the Council could be moved, Musso went to Padua to visit his ailing father. He arrived in time to assist at the death of his first instructor, Fra Jacobo Rosa.<sup>95</sup> During this stay in Padua Cervini corresponded with him regarding the article on the Eucharist, and asked him to come to Bologna.<sup>96</sup> Even though Musso made a mistake in not listening to the cardinal's wishes, he had to think of his own health.

In June he again made his appearance at Bologna, and was ordered by the Council to help in the redaction of the decrees on Penance, Extreme Unction, and Holy Orders.<sup>97</sup> The material was prepared, but no decrees were published. Musso then retired to Padua on account of the poor state of his health, and because nothing could be accomplished while the quarrels between the Council and the emperor persisted.

While at Padua he wrote to Farnese warning him against a breach with the emperor.<sup>98</sup> This letter was probably inspired by the Augsburg Interim.<sup>99</sup> During the year 1548, Musso went back and forth between the Council and Padua. When his father became very ill, he asked permission to remove him to Bologna. Since the

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92. Severolus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 420.

93. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

94. Buchbell, *op. cit.*, X, 451.

95. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

96. Severolus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 635.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 718.

98. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

99. This was a document drawn up in June, 1548, as a compromise formula for Catholicism and Lutheranism in Germany.

legates refused the permission, Musso stayed away from the Council until shortly afterwards, when his father died. Upon his return to Bologna in 1549, Massarelli sought him out and discussed the proceedings of the Council.<sup>100</sup> But in September Paul III suspended the Council.

Musso was next requested to come to Rome in order to take a place in the reform council.<sup>101</sup> Paul III died on November 10, 1549, before his real intentions in this matter could be ascertained. With this death all of Musso's zeal seems to have been dissipated. He had admired Paul's courage in calling a reform council, and had loved the humanism that Paul III favored. But with the death of this pontiff, the last humanist Pope passed away, and also the favor extended to the followers of humanism. This may explain Musso's reluctance to deal on familiar terms with the next Popes.

### III. THE SECOND AND THIRD PERIODS AT TRENT (1551-1563)

Cardinal del Monte was elected to the papacy in 1550, and took the names of Julius III. According to Benoffi, he appointed Musso a domestic prelate, and an assistant at the papal throne.<sup>102</sup> He had him preach in his presence and before the papal entourage. Yet Musso also preached in Firenze during the same year,<sup>103</sup> and visited Bitonto.<sup>104</sup> When the Council reopened in 1551, Julius wanted to keep him in Rome, but finally permitted him to return to Trent.<sup>105</sup>

However, when the Council opened in May, 1551, Musso was at Padua,<sup>106</sup> and had little inclination to obey the summons to come to Trent. In a letter to Julius III, dated June 29, he complained that so far nothing had been accomplished at Trent. Quoting Gregory of Nazianzen, he declared it to be evident that the prelates detracted, angered, and shunned one another because of their quarrelsome spirits and their domineering propensities.<sup>107</sup> This was a strange

100. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 845.

101. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

102. *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

103. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

104. Cf. the chapter on his diocesan reform.

105. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

106. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 257.



letter to send to the Pope, and it reveals the impatient character of Musso.

In September he came to Trent with the bishop of Camerino. He cast his first vote on September 29. Despite his previous reluctance, he was soon active in the discussions, and was appointed president of the deputation that was to draw up the canon on the Eucharist.<sup>108</sup> When the canon had been carefully written, he was made speaker of the deputation.<sup>109</sup> Later he also helped in the redaction of the canons on the Mass,<sup>110</sup> and Penance.<sup>111</sup>

Before the close of the year, Musso was to have another disappointment. Julius III elevated Bertano, Cicado, and Sarceni to the cardinalate, but passed by Musso, although he had worked on the same commissions with these men.<sup>112</sup> His name had been blackened in Rome by those who said that he taught a doctrine which denied the sacrificial character of the Mass.<sup>113</sup> In the same year Cardinal Montesa pleaded with the Pope to consider the elevation of Musso. Julius III, however, hesitated just as Paul III had done in 1549. The simple fact of Musso's controversy in the Council hardly seems adequate to explain this hesitancy. He, however, continued to help Massarelli in writing the decrees on Extreme Unction and Holy Orders.

Meanwhile Charles V again angered the Council by sending to Trent Protestant delegates who demanded that all decrees be open to debate.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, Maurice of Saxony threatened Trent, and surprised the emperor at Innsbruck.<sup>115</sup> When Julius III received word of these troubles, he published a bull suspending the Council.

During the years 1552 and 1554, Musso spent part of his time in Padua at the convent of his own confrères, and then in Rome.<sup>116</sup> Few of his activities during these years are known for certain, yet we do know that he preached in Rome, Padua, and Genoa. On

108. A. Theiner, *Acta Genuina Concilii Tridentini*, I, p. 509.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 522.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 645.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 672.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 581.

113. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

114. Mourret-Thompson, *op. cit.*, V, p. 560.

115. Although a Protestant, Duke Maurice of Saxony did not hesitate to betray his co-religionists in order to curry favor with Charles V. Later he forsook this friendship and moved against the emperor.

116. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

May 10, 1553, he attended the general chapter of his Order in Genoa.<sup>117</sup> He has seldom been spoken of in his relations with his Order, but at this critical time he was more than ever interested in the Conventuals. Suspicion of heresy was thrown against them, and the rumors finally reached Rome. At the chapter he pleaded with his confrères for stricter observance, and for greater zeal in preaching against heresy. Already in March he had assured Cervini that the Conventuals were doing good work.<sup>118</sup> Now he told him directly that they themselves disproved the accusations by their valiant fight against heresy.<sup>119</sup>

During these years Julius III instituted his reform council. Its reports were not published until 1562, but they were probably made under Julius III. They stress the ecclesiastical character of the cardinals, and aim to take politics out of the sacred college.<sup>120</sup>

Under the following Popes, Marcellus II and Paul IV, Musso seems to have played a political game. Before the election he wrote a very ingratiating letter to Cardinal Farnese. He felt assured of his patron's election, and told him that the seven hills and Europe would clamor for his election to the papacy.<sup>121</sup> When, instead, Cervini was elected as Marcellus II, he penned an eloquent letter to the newly elected Pope. Marcellus had hardly received the letter when he died. Musso now wrote a similar letter to Paul IV. Perhaps he feared the new Pope more than all the others, for Peter Caraffa had been an extreme reformist, while Musso had followed the moderates led by Seripando and Farnese.

In the letter to Paul IV Musso excelled in a play on words. The Pope's full name had been John Peter Caraffa, and he chose Paul as his papal name. Musso placed a significance upon each name. Although the composition was clever and oratorical, we do not know how Paul IV received it. Jedin says that the letter would not have merited a better parish.<sup>122</sup> The fact that Paul IV disliked the Conventuals, may have had something to do with his dislike of Musso, as before he became Pope he had urged the reform, and

117. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

118. Buchbell, *loc. cit.*

119. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

even the suppression, of the Conventuals in Italy.<sup>123</sup> About the same time Musso also wrote to Cardinal Carpi expressing regret at the outcome of the conclave.<sup>124</sup> Carpi had been the emperor's choice for the papacy, and probably attracted Musso on account of his leniency. But from this time until 1560 Musso did not go to Rome.<sup>125</sup> For many of the men with humanistic tendencies were daily brought before the Inquisition of Paul IV, and Musso was clever enough to avoid any undue attention.

Under the next Pope, Pius IV, Musso found a more favorable reception. Anxious to reopen the Council of Trent, Pius began negotiations with the Catholic princes. He also called Musso to Rome, and had him deliver sermons and engage in disputes before the papal throne. In May, 1560, he sent Musso, as a companion of Cardinal Altemps, to the imperial court of Vienna.<sup>126</sup> According to Pallavicini, Musso took precious and pious gifts to all the princes of the imperial family.<sup>127</sup> The legates were not only to speak of opening the Council, but Musso was also told to use his influence to attach Maximilian more firmly to the Church.<sup>128</sup>

Musso departed from Rome in the gray habit of his order, so that he might make a better impression upon the court.<sup>129</sup> Throughout the journey he sent back reports to Farnese. His first stop was at Wasserburg, where he was graciously received by the nobles on account of the memory of Farnese. Three days later he was in Venice. After five more days Cardinal Altemps arrived at the court. He was angry because Musso had been appointed to negotiate with the emperor.<sup>130</sup> Apparently Altemps had no important duties, for Musso was also ordered to bring back reports on the bishops in Germany; the cardinal complained about this in a letter to Rome.<sup>131</sup> Nevertheless, he and Musso discussed the negotiations while waiting for an audience. By July 4 they had not yet been received by the

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123. Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., *The Capuchins* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1929).

124. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

125. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 253.

126. Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 262.

127. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 262.

128. The Archduke Maximilian wavered in his religious convictions. Rome was anxious to keep him within the Church.

129. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

130. *Ibid.*

131. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

emperor. Musso tells this to Farnese, and thanks the cardinal for having given him the opportunity of this visit.<sup>132</sup>

The situation of the Church in Germany was at that time precarious. Emperor Ferdinand was a Catholic, but he continued to placate the Protestants of his realm. His son, Maximilian, had strong leanings towards Protestantism, especially in regard to the necessity of receiving Holy Communion under both species, an old claim among certain Bohemians who brought it up as a new issue from time to time.<sup>133</sup> Musso was considered apt to negotiate in these matters because, as Pallavicini says, in him doctrine and eloquence coalesced in a powerful combination that would impart the truths of faith effectively.<sup>134</sup>

Maximilian despaired of ever being elected emperor because the Catholic princes were opposed to him. The Pope, even though he had a low opinion of the archduke, promised to do all he could to gain the good will of the princes if Maximilian promised to be faithful to the Church.<sup>135</sup> Maximilian thereupon dismissed his Protestant minister, but refused to listen to a Catholic priest, or to declare himself a Catholic.<sup>136</sup> In the first audience with the emperor, Ferdinand urged Musso to gain his son for the faith, and deputed him to preach at the imperial court on July 25. Maximilian, however, left with an angry countenance before the services began. Neither did he appear for the services on August 5, even though Musso seems to assert this.<sup>137</sup>

In the second sermon Musso addressed Maximilian directly, pretending that he had heard the first sermon in secret. He insisted that the error of the prince in religious matters was not only a perversion of his own mind, but also a stumbling block to the kingdom.<sup>138</sup> Maximilian's presence at the sermon cannot be proved. Altemps reports directly that he was not there.<sup>139</sup> At any rate, Maximilian's attitude was not changed. Musso's mission was, therefore, a failure, even though the emperor favored him and wanted to

132. *Ibid.*

133. Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 562.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 563.

135. *Ibid.*

136. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

137. *Ibid.*

138. Pallavicini, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. p. 562.

139. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 233.



keep him in Germany.<sup>140</sup> In political matters, however, Musso had made no impression upon the emperor.

Socius, the imperial secretary, described the friar-bishop as follows: "Musso is small, but he is a very smart monk. He wears the grey habit, and is very much attracted to the Lord of Emmaus in Holy Scripture."<sup>141</sup> The secretary also claims that, by addressing Maximilian, Musso had disgraced the emperor; yet the rebuke that is supposed to have been given through Cardinal Altemps is not mentioned by the latter. This silence on the part of the cardinal, and Musso's continued favor with the emperor, make the assertion of Socius somewhat doubtful.<sup>142</sup>

Another disappointment awaited Musso when he returned to Rome in October, for again he was not among the newly created cardinals.<sup>143</sup> It is said by some that his failure in the imperial court was the cause of this omission.<sup>144</sup> His impetuous nature came to the fore when he swore enmity to the house of Borromeo. Later, however, he lived on good terms with that family. He also swore that he would not speak of things heard in Vienna, which might be dangerous to the welfare of the Church.<sup>145</sup> The information was never revealed.

When the third session of the Council opened at Trent, Musso did not attend, but he did raise his voice concerning the Council, as is revealed by Seripando. He had helped Massarelli prepare the redactions of the canons concerning the remaining sacraments. But it was well that he was not present when the quarrel on the divine right of the episcopate occurred. Jedin says that no one urged him to go to Trent because he would only have added weight to the opposition.<sup>146</sup>

Filled with zeal for preaching, Musso delivered the Lenten sermons in Constantine hall in the presence of the Pope. In them he stressed vocations. Later in the same year, 1562, he delivered

140. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, XXXI, p. 160.

141. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

142. *Ibid.*

143. *Ibid.*

144. Michael Buchberger, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Herder, Freiburg, 1935), p. 395.

145. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

the funeral sermon for Frederick Borromeo, nephew of the Pope and brother of Cardinal Charles Borromeo.<sup>147</sup> But, he returned to Bitonto in 1564, to continue the reforms he had inaugurated on two previous occasions.<sup>148</sup>

#### IV. REFORMS IN BITONTO (1548-1572)

When Bishop Musso left Bologna in the month of January, 1548,<sup>149</sup> he returned to his diocese of Bitonto filled with zeal for reform. Even though he had been the ordinary for four years, he had spent but little time in his diocese. Now he announced the convocation of a synod. The consequent reforms date from 1548-1549.<sup>150</sup> He introduced the synod with a visitation of the entire diocese,<sup>151</sup> during which he preached reform and encouraged his priests to renew their sacerdotal fervor.<sup>152</sup>

Since the results of the reforms were not immediately apparent, he was very much discouraged. But he really could not expect an immediate transformation since the last visitation had been conducted back in 1535. As he later told Cardinal Crescentius: "I found the diocese without order, without constitution, without Church discipline. The clerics are without clerical garb and without provision for the chapter of choir."<sup>153</sup> But he did not remain in his diocese long enough to enforce the decrees of his synod.

In June, 1549, he was again in the council city of Bologna, conferring with Massarelli on the redactions of the canons.<sup>154</sup> From Bologna he went to Padua, and there wrote to Cardinal Farnese that he was ill.<sup>155</sup> Later in the same year he returned to Rome to help on the reform council instituted by Paul III. Although he had previously refused to preach the Lenten course in Farnese's church

147. *Ibid.*

148. Firmani, *Diarium Concilii Tridentini* (Herder, Freiburg, 1909), II, p. 544.

149. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 741.

150. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

151. Vincentius Schweitzer, *Concilium Tridentinum Tractatum* (Herber, Freiburg, 1930), I, p. 551.

152. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

153. *Ibid.*, v. 227.

154. Massarelli, *op. cit.*, I, p. 845.

155. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

of San Lorenzo, he now went to Firenze to preach the Lenten course in this city.<sup>156</sup>

When he returned to his diocese he strove to enforce his synodal decrees. One of his first acts in this regard was to excommunicate a priest for flagrant disobedience. The priest appealed to the vicar of Bari, who represented Sulli, archbishop of Bari. The archbishop did not reside in his archdiocese, but left the administration to his vicar. When the vicar absolved the excommunicated priest, Musso appealed to Rome to obtain exemption from the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and he complained that the vicar had overstepped his jurisdiction. In his reply Secretary Giovanni Millesi quoted a decree that upheld the vicar. No such decree existed, but the forgery prevented any effective action of Musso against his unruly clergyman.<sup>157</sup> Musso's subsequent appeal to Cardinal Crescentius obtained for him the exemption, or at least semi-exemption, from the jurisdiction of Bari as long as Musso was in Bitonto.<sup>158</sup> But, the reforms could be suspended by the vicar just as soon as Musso left his diocese.

In 1553, when Cardinal Puteo was the archbishop of Bari, the trouble was renewed by the vicar who attempted to excommunicate Musso himself when the cardinal was absent from the archdiocese.<sup>159</sup> In a very passionate letter Musso now sent a list of complaints to the cardinal, stating: "When I felt myself in the right, I was of stone and not of flesh." Now he was definitely upheld against the vicar.<sup>160</sup> Musso then busied himself in Padua and Genoa. He came to Rome in 1554, and seems to have helped in drafting the great reform act of Julius III.<sup>161</sup>

The next attempt at reform in Bitonto occurred between 1554 and 1560. During these years Musso again undertook the visitation of his diocese and ordered many reforms.

Cardinal Poteo caused no difficulty when the new decrees were enforced. The Spanish regime, however, had become unbearable. Philip II demanded absolute jurisdiction in his territories, and had little difficulty in persuading the governor of Bitonto to do his

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156. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

157. *Ibid.*

158. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

160. *Ibid.*

161. Cf. chapter II of this article.

bidding. When Musso excommunicated the tax-gatherer, he was compelled to retreat before Spanish supremacy.<sup>162</sup> He could rightly say of his subjects: "They begin against the bishop and with the emperor, but the end against the emperor himself."<sup>163</sup> This was the general attitude of the Italians under Spanish absolutism. At this time the Duke of Alba went to Rome to negotiate a peace with Paul IV, while the people had to undergo invasion by the French and Spanish armies. At the same time the Turks threatened Italy from the sea. Under such conditions the reformer could hope for no good results.

In 1558 Musso sent his vicar to Rome for the visit "ad limina," instead of going there himself.<sup>164</sup> He probably feared to visit the City of Terror, as Rome was then called; his friend Cardinal Marone was held by the Inquisition.<sup>165</sup> When the bull against apostates was published, Musso thought the provisions too strict and wrote to Ghislieri, the grand inquisitor, in that strain.<sup>166</sup> Historians attest to the correctness of that view, yet it might have brought him in conflict with the Inquisition if he visited Rome.

When Paul IV died, most of the prelates rejoiced with Musso. The next Pope, Pius IV, offered a contrast to his predecessor by his mild and peaceful disposition. According to Benoffi, Musso was in Padua when Pius IV summoned him to Rome to preach before the papal court.<sup>167</sup> Under the same Pope, Musso was sent to Ferdinand I and the imperial court. His return to Rome and the subsequent failure to receive the red hat closed the political life of Musso. He remained in Rome and took part in the sessions of the Inquisition, but he no longer sought after a higher position.

When he returned to Bitonto in 1564, he carried with him the papal approval of his diocesan constitution.<sup>168</sup> He had always found it hard to bear the climate in his diocese. Now he complained of the heat in the words of St. Lawrence: "Now I am baked enough; turn me over." Furthermore, the Turkish threat continued menacing

162. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

163. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

164. *Ibid.*

165. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 287.

166. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 231. This Michael Ghislieri became Pope Pius V in 1566.

167. *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

168. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 237.



in the vicinity of Bitonto. Watch had to be kept night and day for fear of invasion.<sup>169</sup>

Despite all these difficulties, Musso began the third reform of his diocese. With only 20,000 souls in his charge, he worked as though he were in one of the great metropolitan districts. He was impatient of results, and complained that little was accomplished.<sup>170</sup> But Benoffi states, that the ten years which Musso spent in his last reform bore abundant fruit.<sup>171</sup> Even though he had not attended the last sessions of the Council of Trent, he adhered to the decrees promulgated in the bull "Benedictus Deus," and strove to put each reform into effect.

Since the Council had ordered the founding of seminaries, Musso did his utmost to carry out this command in his small diocese. In 1564 he invited Bobadilla to found a seminary in Bitonto. He wrote to Laynez, the general of the Jesuits, expressing the hope that the Society would accept his invitation. He went so far as to offer a cloister formerly occupied by nuns for this purpose. The Jesuits seemed interested. But when Salmeron demanded the payment of two hundred ducats, Musso found the payment quite beyond his financial abilities.<sup>172</sup> He, nevertheless, endeavored to obtain the approval of his chapter. The members not only refused the money, but also objected to the use of the convent as a seminary. In August, 1567, he complained to Pius V about his predicament, saying that he had the promise of the professors but could not maintain the seminary.<sup>173</sup> And thus his attempt to carry out the decree of the Council concerning the seminary, came to naught.

When he tried to put into effect the immunity of the Church and the "privilegium fori," he met with stiff resistance from the Spanish rulers.<sup>174</sup> Pius V ordered the publication of the bull, "In Coena Domini," forbidding the meddling of Catholic rulers in the affairs of the Church.<sup>175</sup> Philip II forbade the publication without his *placet*. Musso published the bull without bothering about this formality, and then wrote to the Pope: "Are we of Christ or not?"

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169. *Ibid.*

170. *Ibid.*

171. *Ibid.*

172. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

173. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

175. Buchbell, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 578.

If of Christ, why must we have the king's *placet*?"<sup>176</sup> A compromise was reached with the Spanish governor, but the strife was resumed in 1568. Musso again wrote to the Pope, but the policy of the Catholic rulers was not changed.

Musso stayed in Bitonto until 1572 and tried to promote reform by all possible means.<sup>177</sup> It is not possible to form an estimate of success from his sermons. In the final analysis, however, it matters little how he felt, for few individuals are able to make an accurate estimate of their own success. But, after the third attempt at reform he was thoroughly discouraged and was on the point of leaving his diocese.<sup>178</sup> Many another reformer might have been tempted to do so earlier. Tired and discouraged, he left Bitonto in 1572 to visit his home and the Eternal City. He never again saw his diocese.

## V. EVALUATION OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS

On his way to Piacenza in 1572, Musso stopped at Rome to visit the Holy Father. Pope Gregory XIII accorded him a kind reception, praised his labors for the defense of the faith, and urged him to remain in Rome in order that he might publish his works.<sup>179</sup> To insure this the Pope made him an assistant at the papal throne.<sup>180</sup> We cannot now know with certainty whether he made the proposed visits to Piacenza and Venice; but we know that he prepared his works for publication in Rome. Not much more is recorded.

He had applied himself intensely throughout his life and now, when he was peacefully settled at work, physical weakness appeared. On January 6, 1574, he was taken with an acute fever. After this he lived only three days. He breathed his last at the age of sixty-three and was buried in the basilica of Santi Apostoli. In this church of his own confrères a marble plaque gives testimony to his zealous life and to his unusual abilities.<sup>181</sup> The inscription reads as follows: "To Cornelius Musso, Friar Minor of Piacenza, Bishop of Bitonto,

176. Mourret-Thompson, *op. cit.*, V, p. 533.

177. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

178. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

179. A. Esser, "Cornelius Musso," *Wetzer und Welte Kirchenlexikon* (Herder, Freiburg, 1880-1903), VIII, p. 2056.

180. Benoffi, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

181. H. Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Waddingi* (Nardeschi, Rome, 1908), I, p. 218.

excelling in innocence of life, integrity of morals and sanctity, learned in the sciences, most eloquent and incomparable preacher, most energetic defender of the Catholic Church, whose pre-eminence in knowledge and eloquence temporal monuments are not able to attest."<sup>182</sup>

Before an evaluation of Musso's life can be given, something must be said about his works. They are contained in twelve volumes; four in Latin, the other eight in Italian.<sup>183</sup> Many of his manuscripts have not been edited; some of his works have been translated into other languages.

The first volume of his published works contains sermons in Italian. They are more than ordinary in treatment. One sermon treats of true Christian peace and the knowledge of oneself, another of justification and the remission of sins. This volume also contains the sermons on God's love towards man, His grace, and His gifts.

The second volume has sermons on the Holy Trinity, the Holy Eucharist, the Blessed Virgin, the cathedral of St. Peter, Christian death, and the happiness of the blessed. The third volume contains sermons on various subjects, such as the call of the gentiles, sin and penance. There are others on the Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Our Lord; on the descent of the Holy Spirit; on the kingdom of Christ; on the sanctity and purity of the Blessed Virgin. Though the fourth volume has sermons with various titles, the subject matter practically coincides with that of the third volume.

The Lenten sermons delivered in Rome during the year 1542, make up the fifth volume. They were reprinted at Venice in 1590, and again in 1592 by Juntas. This editor entitled them *Christian Institution*, for they contain not only sermons on the Apostles Creed, but also on the Decalogue, and the Passion according to St. John.<sup>184</sup> There are forty sermons in this fifth tome. In 1584 they were translated into French, and were printed at Paris even before 1590, as Giunto states in the foreword.<sup>185</sup> The Symbol of the Apostles was also translated into Spanish by Peter of St. Ann.

182. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

183. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XX, p. 497.

184. Sbaralea, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

185. The title was probably inspired by a similar title given by John Calvin. Musso's book is the Catholic answer to Calvinistic teaching.

Musso's sixth tome contains sermons on the gospels and epistles of Lent, as also on the *Magnificat*, which are intended for Saturday preaching. In 1586 they were published in two volumes by Giunto, together with a life of Musso by Joseph Musso, a relative. The same work was again edited by *Bibliotheca Italica* in 1558. Another edition by Andrew Muschuin was printed at Venice in 1610. Philip Bosquier edited the sermons on the *Magnificat* in 1621, under the title *The Chrysostom of the Italians*.<sup>186</sup> Tomes seven and eight contain sermons for Lent and extraordinary occasions.

Besides these works in Italian, there are others in Latin. One of these important works contains an account of the synod of Bionto. First edited by Giolito at Venice in 1579, it embraced practically the entire discipline of the Church in sermons, constitutions, synodal laws, reports on visitations, and matters concerning the reformation of the clergy and people.

The *Divine History* is perhaps Musso's best literary work. It was published in four volumes, and treats of the eternity of the divine essence, the truth of the divine nature. Though two more volumes were projected on the angels, man, grace, and glory, they remained unfinished because of Musso's sudden death.<sup>187</sup> These sermons were preached at Genoa in 1553.<sup>188</sup>

Among other printed sermons the most important are those probably preached at the Venetian court, which were printed at Venice in 1561. The sermons delivered at the imperial court of Vienna were printed at Rome in 1561. Lastly we have the famous commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. Michael Isselt, a German historian who also wrote the *Allgemeine Zeitgeschichte*, edited Musso's sermons for Sundays and feast days in German, and appended a life of Musso.<sup>189</sup> While Musso was lecturing at Pavia, Padua and Bologna, he wrote down his commentaries. These commentaries on logic, rhetoric, and the *First Book of Sentences* by Scotus were edited by Joseph Musso. There are other works on the art of preaching and metaphysics. The ascetical works are entitled *The Works of the Six Days*, and are contained in two volumes that were printed at Venice in 1598.<sup>190</sup>

186. Sbaralea, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

187. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

188. Sbaralea, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

189. Jedin, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

190. *Ibid.*, 238.



This list of books does not exhaust Musso's writings, but it contains his most important works. Since his sermons form the bulk of the material, a criticism must include an evaluation of his preaching. Du Pin (1656-1719) a French writer, in his *Bibliothèque Universelle* (1686), describes these sermons as powerful, verbose and flowery. He further points out that they indicate punctilious attention to form and the elaboration of speech rather than to theological reasoning.<sup>191</sup> The sermons may have been improved in the editing, and it is not at all certain that they have come to us as they were preached. It is true that the elegance in style and form attracted large audiences, but much could be said against the results for eternity.

It will be remembered that Musso was trained in the humanities of the first half of the sixteenth century when humanism was at its peak, and that the Popes, beginning with Paul IV, took on an attitude of suspicion and distrust towards the humanists. When Musso should have been at the height of his influence, such men as Charles Borromeo and Peter Canisius were far more successful as preachers of reform. Their simple and clear presentation reached the hearts of the people in need of reform. Even though Musso was anxious to teach the people and to assist in the reform of the Church, he clothed his words in a style that had ceased to be regarded as having the real spirit of Catholicism. His inability to realize this change in oratorical methods may to some extent account for his want of success.

The same may be said of his greatest literary production, *The Divine History*. It was written late in his career. Although theological in content, it abounds in grandiose verbiage, flowery figures of speech, and artificial ornamentation. The reform within the Church, particularly after Trent, demanded a less elaborate treatment of doctrine.

A character analysis of the man is difficult. At various places in this article indications of his personality were given. When these traits are brought together they give no definite picture of the man. From the beginning he was endowed with marvelous gifts of oratory. But with him the technique of oratory was an objective, and did not necessarily indicate his personality. As a youth of seven-

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191. H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literatus* (Wagner, Innsbruck, 1892), III, p. 31.

teen or eighteen he could hardly have had a full understanding of the subject matter of his sermons. Apparently they were more mechanical than personal. The pleasure at mere beauty of expression and perfection of form remained with him throughout life, and consequently his letters were given as much attention as his great Lenten discourses. If such an approach is made to his writings, the contradictions contained in his letters will not necessarily reveal duplicity, nor will the sermons indicate more than vanity in his oratorical abilities.

Many of his contemporaries failed to see that Musso was more of an oratorical master than an insincere preacher. His activity at Trent, his endeavors for reform, and his conscientious fulfillment of every assignment prove his sincerity beyond a shadow of doubt. It was the manner in which these tasks were performed that cast suspicion upon the man.

There are other weaknesses of character. He seems to have been of a sanguinary nature. At first he worked with interest and zeal. In fact, he was over-anxious for immediate results. This was indicated during the sessions of Trent and after his diocesan reform actions. When results were not immediately forthcoming, he became discouraged and sad. Yet it must be said to his credit that, even though he succumbed to his emotions for a while, he eventually allowed his religious zeal to gain the upper hand. While he may not have gained glory in his day, it must be said of him that he initiated reforms which were fully carried out by others.

On the positive side, we can say of Musso that he was noble and loyal. He never swerved in his friendship towards those whom he loved. Even though he was ill-treated and even maligned, he remained loyally attached to Rome and to many of the great cardinals. He willingly forgave his enemies. He sympathized with those brought before the Inquisition. Quick to anger, he was also quick to forgive. It is little wonder then that at the age of forty he told Farnese that he felt as though he were sixty. Too many took advantage of his eager and willing spirit, and forgot to render proper thanks. So often he worked for others and helped their advancement, but gained nothing for himself.

One of the finest tributes that can be given to him is his courage in the face of opposition. He helped save the Council of Trent

from political and royal corruption, even though he seemed to gain only rebuffs for himself. Later, in his own diocese, he fought the government and his immediate ecclesiastical superiors in order that he might carry out the decrees of Trent. Failure seemed to attend his efforts, but who can say how much this courage, applied to holding synods, correcting abuses, and giving a constitution to his diocese benefited his successors? Unless there had been men like Musso to initiate the reforms, very little would have been accomplished.

Likewise his immediate contribution to the Council of Trent may have been overshadowed by the work of greater men. Even the contributions of the lesser must not be overlooked because they did much to bring out the decrees that have been the basis of renewed Catholic life and ecclesiastical discipline for nearly four centuries. But Musso was not the least of the contributors to this great Council. Therefore he deserves more prominent mention in the history of the Council and of the Church during that period.

His varied career reflects a character of zeal, energy and some measure of talent. Even though his personality did not always make a direct impression, his spirit pervades many events of his age. He made a real contribution to the history of the sixteenth century.

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## WHO KEPT THE FRANCISCAN RECOLLECTS OUT OF CANADA IN 1632?\*

ENGLISH forces took possession of Canada on July 20, 1629, and carried off the French missionaries: the Jesuits on July 21, and the Franciscan Recollects on September 9. Both groups were landed at Plymouth, England, on October 18, and were then transported to Calais, France, where they arrived on October 29, 1629.<sup>1</sup>

This conquest was made in violation of the peace treaty concluded by the two crowns on April 24, 1629. In the following November, Charles I of England promised to restore the French possessions. Nothing was done, however, because the English king had not yet received the portion of his queen's dowry amounting to about \$240,000. When this was finally paid, he instructed his ambassador in Paris, June 12, 1631, to arrange for the restoration of the Canadian possessions to the French crown. The matter was finally settled on March 29, 1632, by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye.<sup>2</sup>

Before the last missionaries had been carried off from New France, a Jesuit had established a mission-post on Cape Breton, in the eastern-most part of Canada. On June 26, 1629, Captain Charles Daniel of Dieppe was sent from France to come to the assistance of the beleaguered town of Quebec. Because he considered his troops no match for the superior British forces, Captain Daniel did not proceed to Quebec. Instead, he employed his soldiers in a signal exploit. On September 8, he stormed an English fort near the site of the future Louisbourg, and captured it with all its defenders and supplies. In the month of October, with the help of fifty of his own men and twenty English captives, he constructed a new fort in the harbor of Sainte-Anne, north of Sydney, on Cape Breton.

\* The title "Recollects" signifies "Franciscan Recollects" throughout the article.

1. Le Clercq, O. Recoll., *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1691). Translated by John Gilmary Shea, I (New York, 1881), pp. 304-306.

2. Le Clercq-Shea, I, pp. 310-319; Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, II (Boston, 1899), pp. 272-273.



Captain Daniel was accompanied by the Jesuit Father Bartholomew Vimont, who was soon joined by another Jesuit, Father Alexander de Vieuxpont. The two Jesuit missionaries labored at Fort Sainte-Anne no longer than a year, for in the month of August, 1630, they were recalled to France. They made their return voyage on a fisherman's boat.<sup>3</sup>

About the same time a new mission-post was established in Acadia. The Company of the Hundred Associates, in 1630, sent an expedition to succor the French colony of Cape Sable, at the south-western end of Nova Scotia. In two ships the captain, Bernard Marot of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, carried workingmen and provisions, and was ordered to construct another solid fort at a better location. Three Recollect Fathers of the province of Aquitaine accompanied the expedition, namely Friar Andrew Ronsaud, the superior, and the two young friars Francis du Long and Nicholas Bigot. Charles de la Tour, the commander at Cape Sable, selected the new site for his fort on the St. John River, where the city of Portland, New Brunswick, now stands. The fort was built at the expense of the Company, and was called Fort Sainte-Marie. A chapel was also erected, and the Recollects carried on their missionary work among the French inhabitants and the Indians.<sup>4</sup>

The Recollects of the province of Aquitaine had labored in Acadia from 1619 to 1628, when their mission was broken up. They then went to Quebec, but in the following year they were transported to France together with their other confrères. Therefore they were most willing, in 1630, to accept the offer of the Company to return them to their former mission field.<sup>5</sup>

On February 8, 1631, the adventurer Charles de la Tour, who since 1627 had been in fact, even though not in name, the French ruler of all Acadia, was made governor, or lieutenant general, for

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3. P. Pacifique, O.F.M.Cap., *Etudes historiques et géographiques* (Ristigouche, P. Q., Canada, 1935), pp. 41-55.

4. *Idem*, "Chronique de l'Eglise de la rivière St. Jean," *L'Ordre Social* (Moncton, N. B., Canada, June 13, 1939), 3; Candide de Nant, O.F.M.Cap., *Pages Glorieuses: une mission Capucine en Acadie* (Montreal, 1927), pp. 86 et seq.

5. The mission of the Recollects in Acadia, 1619-1628, is treated in LeClerc-Shea, I, pp. 199-201, 345-346; Oederic-Marie Jouvé, O.F.M., *Les Franciscains et le Canada, 1615-1629* (Quebec, 1915).

the French king of "the coast of Acadia and the dependent territories." <sup>6</sup>

The naming of a French governor for Acadia at a time when the restoration of the territory to France was assured, seemed to augur a bright future for the recent Recollect establishment in eastern Canada. Expectations ran so high that the Recollects thought it advisable to apply to the Congregation of Propaganda in Rome, in the spring of 1631, for the erection of a bishopric in Canada. Evidently this petition was approved by the nuncio in Paris and was forwarded by him to the Congregation of Propaganda, otherwise it would have received no consideration. In the meeting of the cardinals, July 4, 1631, the petition was discussed. The cardinals decreed that their secretary write to the nuncio in Paris, requesting him to gather information concerning the condition of the country and the missionary outlook, and to forward this information to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.<sup>7</sup>

The report of the nuncio was favorable. Since, on November 22, 1630, Propaganda had on its own initiative erected a prefecture apostolic for New England, a territory in which there was as yet no Catholic priest, the cardinals would naturally not object to the erection of a bishopric in a Catholic territory, which already had three priests. They were anxious to sanction any measure that would promote the spread of the faith. Accordingly,

the pope decided to nominate one of the Recollects as bishop of that country [Canada]. This friar was a native of Guyenne [Aquitaine, France] and a former penitentiary of St. John Lateran [Rome]. The provincial [of the Recollects] in Paris asked the pope to desist [from promoting the affair], and he no longer thinks of it. Although some French ecclesiastics had expressed the desire to be appointed by the Pope, he refused to give them the appointment, and will never give it to them, and had not the least thought of doing it. Since the pope learned that the provincial [of the Recollects] in Paris did not approve of the plan, he thought of it no more and has not spoken about it. The provincial of Paris has been granted [by the pope] the sole right to send Recollects to Canada. The Recollects [of Aquitaine] alone have turned this trick, you may say what you will.<sup>8</sup>

6. James Hannay, *History of Acadia* (St. John, N. B., Canada, 1879), pp. 117-124.

7. Cf. Document I.

8. "Mémoire fait in 1637 pour l'affaire des Pères Recollectz de Paris," Peter Margry, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Origines Françaises des Pays d'Outre Mer*, I (Paris, 1879), pp. 15-16.

Yet this move on the part of the Recollects of Aquitaine turned out eventually to be one of the secondary reasons which, in 1632, kept the Recollects of the province of Paris out of Canada.

Cardinal Richelieu, superintendent of commerce and navigation of France, did not wait for any instructions from Propaganda concerning the missionaries to be sent to Canada. He had made up his mind to keep both the Jesuits and the Recollects out of Canada and to replace them by Capuchins, under the protection of Governor Isaac de Razilly, their great friend. "On January 20, 1632, William de Caen was ordered to take three Capuchin Fathers to Quebec, together with forty men and a quantity of food." The Caen brothers, who had suffered great losses during the war, were continued in their monopoly of the fur trade for one year in order that they might be indemnified. Thus it was that the Caen's were commissioned to reclaim Quebec from the English and to introduce the new missionaries.

After an interruption of three years and the setting up of a new government in Canada, Richelieu thought it expedient to start the missions on a new basis. He also had a specific reason for setting aside the two groups of former missionaries. The Capuchin Father Joseph of Paris, confidant of the cardinal, had for fourteen months been prefect of the New England Capuchin mission, but he had not been able to do anything for his charge pending the negotiations for the restoration of New France.<sup>9</sup> In this state of affairs it was deemed a good plan to replace the former missionaries by Capuchins, who could then make Quebec the center for their projected missionary activity in the New England colonies.

Yet the veteran missionaries of Canada, the Recollect Joseph le Caron and his confrères, as well as the Jesuits, were anxious to return to their former mission field and to reoccupy their houses there. They pleaded their cause with the commissary apostolic of the Capuchin missions and prefect apostolic of New England to good effect. The Capuchins relinquished the Quebec mission with good grace. This gracious act is specifically mentioned by Cardinal Richelieu in the letter patent handed to the Jesuits on May 1, 1632, when he wrote:

9. Camille Rochemonteix, S.J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I (Paris, 1895), p. 183; Candide de Nant, *op. cit.*, p. 103; *Report on Canadian Archives for the year 1912*, p. 18.

10. Cf. *Franciscan Studies*, XXIV (1943), 38-41.

Having of late learned from the Capuchin Fathers that the Jesuits had formerly labored in the places for which the Capuchins had been destined, and that it would be better and more reasonable that the Jesuits return to the places from which they were expelled than to send the Capuchins there, we intend to satisfy both parties by accepting the excuses of the Capuchins and by giving back to the Jesuits their own.<sup>11</sup>

An undated order by Richelieu written about the same time and apparently given to the Caen's states the same conclusion.<sup>12</sup> Since these documents do not make mention of the Recollects, there could be no doubt about their exclusion from Canada, for they had no opportunity of being transported on any French ship.

In the meantime the nuncio at Paris busied himself about the return of the Recollects to Canada. On April 16, 1632, he wrote to the cardinals of Propaganda stating that the French king would send "within a few days Capuchins, Jesuits, and Recollects to Canada, assigning Acadia to the first and Quebec to the others." This letter was discussed in the meeting of the cardinals on May 31, 1632, and the proposed triple mission for Canada was approved. The secretary of Propaganda was instructed to write to the respective superiors, asking them to send the names of eventual missionaries, so that the necessary faculties could be granted to them.<sup>13</sup> Yet the decision regarding the Recollects was not carried out. By the time this decree was issued in Rome, the Jesuit missionaries were on their way to Quebec and the Recollects had been denied passage.

On April 18, 1632, the Jesuits embarked for Canada at Honfleur, on the ship of the Caen brothers; on Monday, July 5, they landed near Quebec. As early as December 6, 1631, they had been notified that the expedition to Canada would leave the following spring. Towards the end of March, 1632, they were told that the ship would sail within a short time. Apparently the Recollects were not notified about the departure of the fleet. In the *Mémoire* of 1684 the Recollects state that "the Jesuit Fathers returned to Canada [in 1632] without the knowledge of the Recollects."<sup>14</sup> At any rate, the Recollects did not present themselves for embarkation

11. Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Candide de Nant, *op. cit.*, p. 103; *Report on Canadian Archives for the year 1912*, p. 18.

12. Since this order differs somewhat from the letter given to the Jesuits, it is reproduced as Document II, appended to this article.

13. Cf. *Franciscan Studies*, XXIV (1943), 310-311.

14. "Mémoire instructif contenant la conduite des Pères Recollects de Paris depuis l'année 1615 jusques 1684," Margry, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



in 1632. Accordingly we may presume that their passage to Canada had been blocked by the government.

The Recollects did not, however, desist from further attempts to regain their former missions. In 1637 they stated that "since March, 1631, they were always ready to return to Quebec and to reoccupy their house, but Mr. Lausson" put them off from year to year, except in 1633. In that year he offered them passage, but when it was too late, for the ships were already on the point of weighing anchor." <sup>16</sup>

Since the Recollects found themselves blocked by the government officials in Paris, they tried their fortune with the officials of the Roman court, where they were more successful. The relations between Rome and France had been strained for some time, and were to continue so for many more years. In the spring of 1631, Cardinal Richelieu remarked to the nuncio at Paris, Alessandro Bichi, that the king was chagrined because the pope was no longer as gracious as in former days and that he caused many difficulties in the granting of privileges.<sup>17</sup> Thus the petition of the Recollects for re-admission to Canada found a favorable hearing in Rome. In the spring of the year 1634, the provincial of the Recollects of Paris, Friar Vincent Moret, sent a description of Canada and an account of the labors of his confrères in that country, with the request that they be permitted to return to their former mission field.<sup>18</sup>

On August 1, 1634, Monsignor [Francesco] Ingoli, secretary of Propaganda, wrote to the provincial that the cardinals of Propaganda desired the return of the Recollects to Canada. The same secretary wrote in the same vein, January 13, 1635, to the guardian of the Recollects of Paris. He again wrote to the provincial on March 13, 1635, enclosing the decree of Propaganda for the mission of Canada, together with a list of the privileges granted by the pope in order to encourage the Recollects to return to Canada. In March, 1635, Cardinal Antonio [Barberini], nephew of His Holiness, sent the Brief of Propaganda, issued March 16, 1635, in which the cardinals wished and enjoined upon the Recollects that they return to Canada. All these papers were forwarded by the nuncio, together with a letter dated June 4, 1635, written from Château Thierry to the guardian of the Recollects in Paris. These documents will be shown when it become necessary. The aforementioned privileges were dated March 19,

15. Jean de Lausson was intendant of Canada and president of the Company of the Hundred Associates.

16. Margry, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

17. Pastor, *Geschichte der Paepste*, XIII (Freiburg, 1928), p. 516.

18. Cf. Document III.

1635, and were signed by Cardinal [Francesco] Barberini, protector of their order [1633-1678], who expressly told the Recollects to return to Canada, for he had the right to command them.<sup>19</sup>

The privileges granted the Recollects were very extensive. The *Mémoire* of 1684 states: "It is noteworthy that the Father Provincial of the Recollects of Paris was made PREFECT GENERAL of the mission of Canada, as appears from the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, issued at Rome on February 28, 1635."<sup>20</sup> Thus the Recollects of Paris had gained everything they sought, except the bishopric. The decree that nominated the Paris provincial a prefect made their mission a prefecture apostolic, and thereby raised it above the status of the mission of the Jesuits, and put it on a par with the Capuchin prefecture of Acadia.

The Recollects of Paris had thus gained their point in all they asked at the papal court, but they were not to gain it at the royal court of Paris. The *Mémoire* of 1637 continues:

All this induced the fathers assembled in their provincial chapter held at Paris on August 2, 1635, to promote their laudable enterprise by reading the decree and the privileges of His Holiness, together with the aforementioned letters, and thereafter to put in the capitular acts an ordinance as issued by the pope, which commanded them to return to New France. What is of importance is the circumstance that they published and spread it all over France [that they would return to Canada], relying upon the word of Mr. de Lausson, which was often repeated to the superiors and finally stated expressly. Last year they even wrote to Mr. Champlain that he desist from seeding their lands, which had been left fallow only one year. Yet more important is what happened last year in the meeting of the Company. In the presence of Friar Ignace, provincial vicar, — the provincial, Friar Vincent Moret, being absent in Guyenne on business — it was resolved, and written down so that the clerk could see it, that the Recollects be asked not to return in that year [1636], but to wait until this year [1637], when they could most certainly make the voyage. This arrangement was made on condition that they [the Company] would no longer be obliged to care for six Recollects, as the merchants of the older Company had been bound, but that they should annually pay to the Recollects 600 livres, as is the arrangement with the Jesuits, and that they should give free transportation on their ships, as also free transfer of furniture, and foodstuff both for themselves and their workingmen, provided those ships were going directly to France, or were returning from there. The superiors [of the Recollects] agreed to these conditions, and gave it in writing that they would be satisfied with these conditions and would demand no more. This document was signed by the Father Provincial. Another document, signed by a great and wealthy benefactor, testified that, as long as it was

19. Margry, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

necessary, he would furnish the Recollects with the still needed foodstuffs and the maintenance of themselves and their workingmen. He even obligated himself to pay all bills contracted in the stores. Mr. Sarus, counsellor of the parlement, also volunteered to pay at Paris any bill written against the friars by the clerks of the stores [of the Company].

Thinking that everything was now settled, because they had complied with every demand [of the Company], the Recollects began to gather alms in various places, and even an endowment for Canada. They got their furniture ready and a supply of foodstuffs. The provincial called to Paris the fathers who were scheduled to go to Quebec and other places [in Canada], namely the Fathers Potentian, Paul, Anthony and Gratian, and the two lay brothers Gervais and Germain, and the tertiary Lazare... In the interest of their conscience and reputation, the Recollects demanded the return to their monastery [in Quebec] and to repair it... The monastery and the church, as well as the furnishings, are almost completely ruined. Families were permitted to live there. They kept cows in the rooms of the monastery; and this caused the ruin of the house... [To repair the damage] the messirs [of the Company] should permit them to take along extra men, particularly workingmen, and they should provide for their needs, as had been ordered the previous year. The Recollects also expect from the messirs the favor of their return. They believe that your approbation and recommendation, sir, would obtain for them the favor they ask. It will make them eternally obliged to you, and they will never forget that kindness.<sup>21</sup>

The high official to whom this *mémoire* was addressed apparently paid no attention to this appeal of the Recollects. At any rate, they were kept out of Canada in 1637, just as they had been kept out these many years. Undaunted they made another attempt in 1639. Now Cardinal Richelieu granted the request, but the gentlemen of the Company did not give them leave, and did not furnish any funds nor ships for the transportation. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that the cardinal was a large stockholder in the Company. In 1643 and 1644 the queen-regent granted the request, but the Recollects were again detained. In 1650 and 1651 the Recollects negotiated in the matter with the same want of success. In 1652 the matter was peremptorily settled with the verdict that the friars were excluded and would remain excluded. They were able to return only in 1669.<sup>22</sup>

The reasons advanced for the exclusion were manifold. First they were told that one religious order was sufficient for the small number of Catholics. The friars did not dispute this point; but they stated that, since the new Company had assumed all the

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-18.

22. Le Clercq-Shea, I, pp. 354-375.



obligations of the earlier corporation, the members had also taken over the obligation of transporting them to Canada. The Recollects were then told that rivalries might eventually arise if two different orders were established in Canada. To this the friars answered that they had worked side by side with the Jesuits in Canada for five years, and that harmony had always been maintained. As a third reason it was alleged that, if two orders were established in Canada, there would be danger that both would call in men of their own orders from other parts of America and that in consequence there would be too many missionaries. To this objection the friars made answer that the Company had the right to keep them out and to forbid their entering the country. The petition for the erection of a bishopric in Canada was advanced as another reason for keeping the Recollects out of Canada. To this they answered that this matter was started by the Recollects of Aquitaine, and that it had been definitely stopped by the Recollect provincial of Paris. Inability to support a mendicant order was also made the pretext for not admitting the Recollects to Canada. This objection was invalidated by their gaining the support of wealthy benefactors in France. When the Recollects pressed their claim to their monastery in Quebec and to the church furnishings and the tools left in Canada, de Lausson answered that the Recollects might sell out in Canada and that he would indemnify them with the equivalents in Paris. To this the Recollects gave answer that their honor was staked upon their returning to Canada.<sup>23</sup>

Even though the return of the Recollects to Canada was decreed by the French king, the cardinals of Propaganda, and the pope, and was promoted by the nuncio and some influential persons in the French capital, the doors of Canada remained closed to these former missionaries of the country. The sympathy of all Paris went out to the veteran Père Joseph le Caron, great Recollect apostle of the Hurons, who is said to have died on March 29, 1632, regretting that he was prevented from resuming his labors among the Indians, to whose welfare he had consecrated his life. Before his entrance into the Franciscan Order, Friar le Caron had been the tutor to the Duke of Orleans, elder brother of King Louis XIII of France, and he had many influential friends at the royal court.

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23. Margry, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17.



Yet all their influence was not sufficient to overcome the opposition of some other powerful influence at the court, able to stand up against the pressure even of the king and the pope.

The Recollects at first believed that this powerful opponent was no other than the intendant and president of the Company, John de Lausson. In 1637 they stated in their *Mémoire* that "Mr. Lausson did not permit the Recollects to return to Canada, and for this reason their monastery and church in Quebec, together with the furnishings, were almost completely ruined." They felt his opposition the more keenly, they continued, because they "had formerly had great confidence in Lausson and had even promoted his appointment before the king, believing that he was not an enemy of theirs." <sup>24</sup>

This accusation against Lausson was, however, dropped by the Recollects before long. For some time they wondered who should be blamed for their exclusion from Canada. The *Mémoire* of 1684 states: "Although the whole country [Canada] had been clamoring [for the return of the Recollects] since 1630, and although all possible exertions had been made for it, they could not return before 1669 on account of a SECRET CAUSE, not known by them." <sup>25</sup>

A few years later, Friar Recollect Sixte le Tac thought he had found the culprit in the person of the Jesuit Father Charles Lalemant, rector of the Jesuit college at Rouen, abetted by other Jesuits. In 1689 le Tac wrote his *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle-France ou Canada, 1504-1632* (first published at Paris in 1888), in which he accuses Father Charles Lalemant of having worked in an underhand way for the exclusion of the Recollects, and then having written that he regretted very much that the Recollects were not returning to Canada. He writes: "The Jesuits, foremost among them Father Charles Lalemant, expressed their regrets in the letter of September 7, 1637, in order that they might thus cover up their machinations." <sup>26</sup> The charges against the Jesuits were repeated with greater vehemence by the Recollect Friar Chretien le Clercq in his *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle-*

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

26. Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 188.

*France* (published at Paris in 1691). In one passage he states that Lausson had blocked the return of the Recollects; in other passages he exonerates the Jesuits of all blame. He writes:

Father Lalemant, in a letter of August 19, 1636, not only clears himself of the charge that he and the other Jesuits had blocked the return of the Recollects, but he goes a step farther by stating that he and his confrères desire nothing more than the return of the Recollects. The Jesuits, he adds, saw that they were suspected of having obstructed the return of the Recollects, and they tried to exculpate themselves by a certified statement, by protests and authentic letters which I have read. One of the letters was written by Father le Jeune, superior of the Jesuits at Quebec, to the guardian of the Recollects in Paris, dated August 16, 1632. The second letter was written by Father Lalemant to Father Baudron, secretary of the Recollect provincial in Paris, dated September 7, 1637. The third letter was written by the same Father Lalemant to Friar Gervais Mohier, in which Father Lalemant complains very much that the Jesuits are suspected both in Canada and in France of having kept the Recollects out of Canada.<sup>27</sup>

Despite these authentic protests of the innocence of the Jesuits in this matter, le Clercq tries in several passages to make us believe that the Jesuits opposed the return of the Recollects to Canada and that they did not at all want them to come back.

Other Recollects blamed both the Company and the Jesuits for their exclusion in 1632. Yet the charge against the Jesuits found the widest circulation when the Jansenist Antoine Arnauld (died 1694) attributed the exclusion of the Recollects to the sinister machinations of the Jesuits in his *Morale Pratique des Jésuites*. This work, perhaps more than all the writings of the Recollects, bears the responsibility that some modern historians, e.g. Abbé Casgrain and B. Sulte,<sup>28</sup> still cling to the contention of the dishonesty of the Jesuits in this matter.

Cardinal Richelieu is also blamed for the exclusion of the Recollects from Canada in 1632. In fact, by his letter patent of May 1, 1632, given to the Jesuits, the cardinal effectively excluded the Recollects. The Canadian historian Etienne Michel Faillon writes: "Cardinal Richelieu had decided to send only one religious order to Canada, for he believed that it would be more profitable to have in each new colony only religious of the same order; thus harmony, unity, and uniform dependence among the missionaries would be effected."<sup>29</sup> All this is true, but it was not an original

27. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185; *Annales Minorum*, XXVII (1834), 459, also attaches some blame to the Jesuits: "Jesuitarum interpositio non videtur exclusa."

thought of the cardinal. "When the Capuchins," writes Rochemonteix,

from a sentiment of exquisite fairness had refused to accept the Canadian mission, Richelieu had to choose between the Jesuits and the Recollects. He gave the preference to the former, swayed by the fact that the Jesuits, according to the constitution of their order, can possess property and revenues, and for this reason would be less of a burden on the colony and would be better suited to attract the Indians.<sup>30</sup>

Yet these considerations could not have been decisive in the mind of the cardinal, since he had originally intended to send the Capuchins, missionaries who were subject to the same rule as the Recollects regarding corporate poverty. Besides, during the wars in France the Recollects did not receive anything for two years (1625, 1626), and yet they did not claim back payment, but on the contrary exonerated the Company of their obligations for those years.<sup>31</sup> When, in 1635, the Recollects agreed to be placed on the same footing with the Jesuits regarding their support, the cardinal and the Company still kept them out of Canada.<sup>32</sup> Evidently other considerations must have influenced the cardinal in giving preference to the Jesuits.

Friar Candide Causse de Nant believes that "the real reason" for the preference of the cardinal

is to be found in the animosity of the Caen brothers and certain members of the Company towards the Recollects. Since 1620 the relations between the Recollects and the Company had become ever more strained. Some bitter recriminations were exchanged and, owing to differing interests, two rival parties had been formed. The Recollects twice gathered all points of complaint and brought them to the attention of the home government. The charges were levelled principally against the Caen's. The accusations were considered well grounded, and on both occasions (1620 and 1625) the Recollects obtained from the government the measures they had recommended for the good of religion and of the colony. Besides, the relations of the Recollects with Governor Champlain were not the best towards the end. In one case, Champlain took the part of the Caen's against the Recollects. Several members of the Company were bitter opponents of the Recollects. The president of the Company himself positively refused to have the Recollects sent back to Canada. These are the reasons why, in the spring of 1632, the Jesuits alone returned to Quebec.<sup>33</sup>

Although these reasons are quite weighty, they were hardly

29. *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, I (Montreal, 1865), p. 279.

30. Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

31. Margry, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

33. *Pages glorieuses*, etc., pp. 106-107.

sufficient to sway the cardinal in his decision to exclude the Recollects. The Caen's returned to Canada on business for only one year. Neither they nor Champlain received the governing power in the newly acquired colony. Isaac Razilly was appointed governor and viceroy for New France in April, 1632, and so the opposition of the Caen's and the other members of the Company could not weigh much in the scale of deliberations that went against the Recollects. Much more weight was apparently given in the mind of the cardinal to the endeavor of the nuncio in Paris to establish the Recollects through the influence of Propaganda. It would seem that the cardinal was offended by this interference in his policies. As regards the opposition of the members of the Company, the cardinal most certainly had sufficient influence to crush their opposition at will. Therefore we may reasonably presume that the opposition among the members of the Company was stirred up by the cardinal himself, and that the members were opposed to the Recollects because the cardinal was opposed to them.

But neither Cardinal Richelieu nor the gentlemen of the company were the prime movers in the affairs of the Recollects. They merely executed the ideas of an official of great influence at the royal court. This official was no other than the Capuchin Father Joseph Leclerc du Tremblay of Paris, confidant and collaborator of Cardinal Richelieu. It was Père Joseph who kept the Recollects out of Canada in 1632 and subsequent years. The Capuchin diplomat had hardly died (December, 1638) when Cardinal Richelieu changed his policy and permitted the Recollects to return to Canada, but then the gentlemen of the Company knew how to frustrate the plan (1639).

Père Joseph, commissary apostolic of the foreign missions and prefect apostolic of the New England mission, controlled the direction of the missions in the French colonies. Naturally he also controlled the administration of the missions in New France. This general ecclesiastical and political administrator of the French foreign missions had gained the conviction that the best arrangement was to keep the different religious orders in the missions within specified districts apart from the rest. Thus, in 1627, he appealed to Propaganda to restrain the Jesuits from establishing themselves at points in Syria where the Capuchin had already been placed. He reverted to this matter repeatedly. He did not even approve the



settling of missionaries of various provinces of the same order in the same territory. Thus, in December, 1628, he objected to the move of placing Italian Capuchins in Constantinople, where French Capuchins had already been established. He remarked that such a measure could only create confusion and thus disturb the peace.<sup>34</sup> Père Joseph made the arrangements, and Cardinal Richelieu executed them by writing out the necessary commissions.<sup>35</sup>

Père Joseph was confirmed in his conviction by the conduct of the Recollects of Aquitaine, who returned to Acadia in 1630. Richelieu recalled them to France in the name of the king on March 16, 1633. Nevertheless, we still find them in Acadia up to the year 1645, with the outlaw Charles de la Tour.<sup>36</sup> The cardinals of Propaganda entered with great reluctance into the arrangement of the missions along national and provincial lines as advocated and practiced by Père Joseph. Yet today it is an established rule with Propaganda to entrust a foreign mission to one religious order or to one province of an order to the exclusion of all others.

It is worthy of note that the French government first introduced this system of monopoly for the benefit of the French Recollects. The *Mémoire* of 1637 states:

In 1618 the French ambassador residing in Rome asked Pope Paul V to instruct his nuncio in France, Msgr. de Bentivoglio [later cardinal], that he give the mission [Canada] to the Recollects of Paris and grant their provincial the necessary faculties.<sup>37</sup>

Thereupon, in the same year, King Louis XIII issued letters patent to the Recollects, in which he says:

The monasteries which will be erected [in Canada] will be placed under the jurisdiction of the provincial of the province of St. Denis [Paris] and not under any other. The provincial of that province has the sole right to send Recollects to Canada. No Recollect may go to Canada unless he is given leave by said provincial. This is done to avoid any dissension that might arise.<sup>38</sup>

34. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

35. Louis Dedouvres, *Le Père Joseph de Paris*, II (Paris, 1932), p. 80.

36. Candide de Nant, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-112, 133, 136, 137, 193. Père Joseph did not have kindly feelings towards the Friars Minor in the Orient. From 1626 to 1630 he fought the demands of the Friars Minor in the Holy Land. He wrote, March 7, 1630, that the Friars Minor of the Holy Land "were spreading all kinds of lies against the Capuchins in their endeavor to drive them out of the Orient." Dedouvres, *op. cit.*, II, p. 61.

37. Margry, *op. cit.*, p. 6; for *Mémoire* of 1684, cf. p. 19.

38. Candide de Nant, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105; Margry, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Père Joseph and Cardinal Richelieu maintained this system, by which the Recollects were first benefited and were first victimized. If Propaganda had not established the Capuchin prefecture of New England on its own initiative, the Capuchins would probably not have been sent to New France, and the Recollects would not have been excluded in 1632 and later years. After Cardinal Richelieu's death the bishop of Quebec maintained this system of monopoly and tried to keep the Recollects out of Canada. When, in 1669, he had to give way to the pressure of the king, he established the Recollects in the backwoods of Quebec and, despite the scarcity of priests in his diocese, would not permit them to do regular pastoral work. During an absence of the bishop, the vicar general appointed the Recollects chaplains in the forts; but the bishop had no sooner returned when he suspended their faculties.<sup>39</sup> The Capuchins did not return after the restoration of Acadia to France, but the Recollects took over these missions.

On January 8, 1635, the procurator of the Recollect missions in Rome submitted to Propaganda a set of regulations for the Recollect missions in Canada. They ordain that only young fathers be sent to Canada; that the provincial of the Paris Recollects have sole jurisdiction over Canada, and, in his absence, the guardian of the Paris monastery; that the procurator at the French court also conduct the business for Canada; that Recollects of other provinces be subject to the Paris provincial. These regulations evidently had been in force in Canada from 1618 to 1629.<sup>40</sup>

## DOCUMENT I

*Recollects ask for the erection of a bishopric in Canada, July 4, 1631*

Ad Congreg. die 4 Julii, 1631. No. 18

Referente eodem Emin.mo. D. Cardinali Bentivolo statum Canadae regionis Americae septentrionalis, in qua ante viginti annos ingressi sunt Recollecti Galli Ordinis Sancti Francisci et instantiam eorumdem Recollectorum pro novi in ea regione episcopatus erectione, Sacra Congregatio mandavit scribi Nuntio Galliarum ut de praefatae regionis statu tum quoad religionem tum of 1684, Margry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-33.

39. A detailed description of these grievances is contained in the *Mémoire*

40. Cf. Document IV.

quoad praedicti novi episcopatus erectionem, informationes assumat, easque Roman transmittat.<sup>41</sup>

## DOCUMENT II

### *Richelieu's Order to the Sr. Guillaume de Caen to transport the Jesuits to Quebec, about May, 1632*

Armand, cardinal, duc de Richelieu, etc. A lez, etc.

Ayant par contrat du 20 Janvier chargé le Sr. Guillaume de Caen cydevant Général de la nouvelle flotte de france de faire passer à Quebecq pays de la nouvelle france trois pères Capucins avec quarante hommes qui Luy Seroient donnez pour la Compagnie de la nouvelle france ensemble quelque quantité de vituailles ainsy qu'il est plus a plain mentionné audit Contract et Lesdits pères Capucins Sestant excusez envers nous de faire Ledit voiage à Quebecq desirant neantmoins que Les Francoys ayent La Consolation des Sacremens desquelz Ils ont besoin et Jugeant necessaire de remettre Les pères jesuites dans un Lieux a eux appartenant proche Le fort de Quebecq desquelz Ils ont estez expulsez par les Anglois A ces Causes nous avons ordonné que les pères qui nous ont estez nommez par le Père barthelemy Jacquenot provincial de france de La Compagnie de Jesus aillent reprendre possession des maisons Et Lieux a eux appartenantz audit Quebecq pour y faire Les fonctions conformes a Leur Institut Enjoignant audit Guillaume de Caen de Les faire passer au plustot dans Les Vaisseaux dans Lesquelz ilz devoit faire passer Lesdits pères Capucins Ensemble Leurs Vituailles et Commoditez conformement audit Contract Commandons Au Capitaine Emery de Caen, Le Sieur duplessis bochart et autres quy doibvent y yverner Sur Les Lieux de Les traiter favorablement tant au passage que Sejour a peine d'en repondre. En foy de quoy, etc.<sup>42</sup>

## DOCUMENT III

### *Report on Canada, written in 1634 by the Recollect Vincent Moret to obtain from Propaganda their return to Canada*

Sanctissime Pater:

Exponit humillime Sanctitati Vestrae Minister Provincialis Provinciae Sancti Dionysii fratrum Minorum Recollectorum in Gallia, f. Vincentius Moretus, qualis sit status Novae Franciae, ut super hoc de Missionibus Religiosorum ad perducendos ad Christi fidem incolas paterna benignitate providere dignetur Sanctitas Vestra. Quod, etc. Quam Deus, etc.

41. *Propaganda Archives*, series: Acta de anno 1631; Atti, VII, part. II, fol. 87, no. 18. This document is cited Fish, *Guide to Materials in Roman Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1911), p. 125, with the wrong date of July 5, 1631.

42. *Archives des Affaires Etrangères. Correspondance Politique. Fonds Angleterre*, XLIII (1629), fol. 32 (preserved in Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Rue de l'Université, no. 130). The *Report on Canadian Archives for 1883* (p. 120) and *Rapport sur les Archives de France par Roy* (Ottawa, 1911, p. 585) list this document with the wrong date of February 1, 1629.

*Dechiaratione dello stato della Nova Francia dette volgarmente Canada*

La Bonità d'Iddio, il quale vuol esser' glorificato in ogni luogo, havendo permesso molti anni fa, ch'alcune navi Francese arrivassero in quella parte dell'America, la quale dal vulgo vien' chiamata Canada overo Nova Francia (paese habitato da molti popoli con nomi differenti, comme soni gli Montagnetti, Algumechini, Irokese, Huroni, Neutri, cosi detto, perche non fanno guerra a nessuno, e gli Incantartori, cosi chiamati, perche guariscono gl'ammalati con incantamenti, e tutti d'un nome commune son' detti Selvatiche); havendo dunque li Francesi diverse volte navigato in quei luoghi, e negotiata con quei popoli, riferirono al Consiglio del Re Christianissimo, in quanta brutalità vivevano quei popoli, per il che fu ordinato d'invare in quelle terre, Religiosi per la conversione loro. Gli Padri Recolletti dell' Ordine di San Francesco furono giudicati capaci di questo impiego, et essendone requisiti ebbero ricorso alla Santità di Paolo V di felice memoria, il quale diede loro quella commissione e la riceverono dalla mano dell' Eminentissimo Cardinale Bentivoglio, all' ora Nuntio in Francia l'anno 1618<sup>43</sup> E per impedire il disordine fu fatto un' decreto dal Consiglio del Rè, conforme alli Ordini di Sua Santità che il solo Provinciale della Provincia di Parigi inviasse tanto gli frati della detta Provincia come gli altri zelosi della salute delle anime e che tutti dipendessero della sua iurisdictione e del Superiore residente nella Nova Francia.

Per il primo viaggio s'imbarcarono solamente cinque<sup>44</sup> Religiosi nell' anno sopradetto, delli quali, duoi invernarono nelle cabane overo casette delli selvatici, per vedere i costumi, et imparar la lingua loro, gli altri restarono nell' habitatione delli francesi per amministrare i Sacramenti secondo la licenza data loro dal Pontefice.<sup>45</sup> Dopo il Rè e li Benefattori Francesi edificarono ad un' mil della fortezza di Quebeco un convento et una chiesa detta di San Carlo Borromeo, la quale è la prima di quei paesi,<sup>46</sup> et un' altra nella fortezza, le quali il Rè ornó di belli e ricchi ornamenti. In quelle li Religiosi celebravano la missa e facevano la predica, e ricevevano da vivere dalli mercatanti; il terreno non essendo anco coltivato gli altri bisogni loro erano inviati de Francia, ogni anno una volte solamente, tanto per la distanza la quale è di 4,500 mil' che per il fredo et il ghiaccio, ch' impediscono di far' più d'un' viaggio l'anno, le navi partendosi di Francia intorno al Mese Marzo e ritornando in Ottobre.

La situatione di quel paese quanto all' elevatione del polo è l'istessa che della Francia, e l'habitatione di Quebeco è posta alli 48 gradi; nondimeno vi fa più fredo ch'in Francia perchè essendo pieno di selve, e d'alberi grandi d'ogni sorte, e d'altissimi monti; le neve vi se conserva più gran pezza, e rinfresca l'aria. Ancora nelle pianure per la vicinanza delle selve, ritrovasi la neve cosi grande insino al mese Maggio, che non pu caminarsi

43. Erroneously the text has 1611.

44. Only four Recollets were sent in 1615: Fathers Denis Jamay, Jean Dolbeau, Joseph le Caron, and Brother Pacifique du Plessis.

45. Bull of Paul V, "Cum accepimus," July 10, 1615, Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XXV (Quaracchi, 1934), pp. 128-130. Le Caron went to the Hurons, and Dolbeau went to the Montagnais, while Jamay and the brother remained near Quebec.

46. The monastery was built in 1618, the church of Our Lady of the Angels in 1620. Cf. the *Mémoire* of 1637, Margry, *op. cit.*, p. 7.



senza haver' sotto li piedi certe pianelle, overe suole, simili alle rachette da giuocar alla palla dal manico in fuori.

La longhezza del paeze è intorno a 2,400 mil. Nel tempo inverno quei popoli vanno dove sta buona caccia e piscagione, perche non vivano d'altro che di queste due cose, non conoscendo le delitie d'il sale, non usando da bere senon d'aqua, non havendo pane senon che sia dato loro dalli mercatanti in contracambio d'altre robe; se danno anche loro in cambio piselli, fagiole et altri legumi, prugni, uve secche, ma non conservano queste cose.

Quando vanno d'una contrada a l'altra penetrano le selve come fiere selvatiche, e conducono seco le donne e le figliuoli suoi, e portino le caldare e pignate per cuocere le vivande, e non forbiscono mai queste masseritie di cugina. Quando sono arrivati al luogo, nel quale vogliono habitare, stendono certe scorze d'alberi cucite insieme e fanno come un padiglione per dormire sotto. Quei padiglioni hanno al mezzo un gran pertugio, tanto per far uscire il fumo come per ricevere la luce, di maniera che serve di camino e di finestra.

Coricarsi all' intorno dentro quei padiglioni su la terra ignuda sia per mangiare, sia per dormire, e sono sempre il giorno e la notte tutti ignudi; dalle donne in fuori che coprono la vergogna loro. Coloro che hanno pelli di castori, le cucino insieme per far' com' una cimarra pur senza legame. Avanti che li Francesi havessero portatovi caldare di rame, e pignate di ferro, usavano li paesani di pietre abbrugiate e calde, le quali diverse volte ponevano su la carne e cosi la cuocevano. Per far fuoco se servono di sassi toccati l'un' a l'altro, overo d'un certo legno, il quale essendo pulverisato e stropicciato fa fuoco. Credono ch'il maggiore secreto dell' arte sia l'invention delle caldare; et alcune volte per la grande utilità che ne ricevono, hanno dimandato, s'il Rè non n'era l'artigiano; e sono ancor più marvavigliati, quando veggono qualche Francesi rappezzare le caldare che son rotte, perche loro le buttano via e non sene curano più, quando vi è qualche pertugio.

Questi popoli amano senza misura li figliuoli suoi, e permettono ogni malitia senza mai riprenderli ne castigarli, e pure ch' hanno gusto di vederli malitiosi et astuti. Tra loro se ritrova la consanguinità di fratello, zio, e cognato, nondimeno danno similmente ad altri, che non sono parenti loro, questi titoli seconda la differenza dell' età, e secondo l'affetto che portano ad alcuno e medesimamente alli Religiosi, li quali, se pigliano a gusto questo honore, non è loro negata cosa veruna, et sono contentissimi li selvatici ch' habitino insieme con loro, e non sono ingrati delli beneficij che son loro fatti.

Gli homini non s'impiegano ad altro ch' alla caccia, alla pesca, et alla guerra; le donne ad apparecchiar' il mangiare, a far le rachette per caminar su la neve, a far cofani, et altri lavori (che sono tutti di filo fatto di scorza d'alberi) et a cavare il succo delle herbe per dipingere li lavori, et ancora li corpi suoi, su li quali fanno mille figure. Gli homini fanno l'istesse pitture sul corpo suo imbrattandolo etiamdio quasi sempre del grasso delle carni, e non havendo altra salvietta per asciurgarsi le mani, quando pransano che li capelli suoi.

Dopo haver mangiato, cantano e danzano cosi in publico che in privato et in quel tempo lasciano la briglia a tutti li appetiti dishonesti. Le canzoni loro sone delle vittorie havute su li nemici, quanti hanno ammassati, quanti

mangiati, quanti scorticati. Molti portano le teste delli nemici per un segno di valore. Spezzo nel mezzo di quale danze essercitano grande crudeltà contra li prigionj di guerra, li quali sofferiscono ogni cosa, e la morte stessa con pazienza incredibile, e se vantano d'haver ammassato e mangiato molti parenti et amici delli vincitori. Se servono d'alcuni instrumenti che sonano per eccitarsi a danzare et a ballare, in che alcune volte arrivano alle furiate delle Bachanti dell' Antichità.

Li maritaggi se fanno quando l'una e l'altra parte s'aggrandiscono, e poi un convito et una danza sono la solennità delle nozze. Spesso hanno gran pezza habitatione insieme senza tenersi per maritati, ma se la donna parturisce un figliuolo, all' hora se tengono per tali. Nondimeno separandosi alcune volte di commune consenso, e pigliano altrove marito e moglie, et alcuni lasciano una sorella per pigliar l'altra, e fanno un tal mescolamento di parentado che questo fa gran disturbo nella conversione loro.

Questa grande incontinenza nascendo del mancamento d'occupatione honesta. Sono alcune nationi massimamente le errante e vagabonde, le quale ammassano li Padri, Madri e parenti suoi, quando sono vechij, estimando far loro un gran servitio. Rendono alli morti certi debiti funerali sotterando con loro le pelli di castore, l'accette, caldare et altre Robe del morto, insieme con le vettuaglie, per che credono ch' havera bisogno nell' altra vita; poi havendo coperto di terra il coipo insieme con queste robe drizzano una certa maniera di tumulo portato da quatro parti di legno nell' aria, e cantano, gridano, e dansano intorno al sepolchro, ritornando diverse volte far l'istessa cosa, e tengono per detestabile di cavar nelle sepulture dei morti.

Non s'è notato ancora ch' adorino nessuna divinità,<sup>47</sup> hanno pur certe opinioni extravaganti del sole, delle luna, di qualche principio del mondo, d'una inondatione d'aque et hanno paura del diavolo, chiamato Manitou, ma dalli incantatori in fuori non l'invocano, e non sacrificano a lui.

Li infermi non guariscono altrimenti che per le danze e l'incantamenti e cio che l'infermo o li parenti suoi sognano per la sua sanità, se pratica subitamente, perche li sogni in molte cose, e massimamente per le malattie et anco per la guerra, tengono appresso loro luogo di profetia: pero sarebbe pericoloso, s'havessero sognato d'ammassar un Religioso che non lo fosse. Cio ch'il paese produce è solamente per la caccia, e la pesca, Li castori sono assai, e come li altri animali amphibij vivono hor' nell' aqua, hor' su la terra. Sono ancora molti Elani ovvero asini selvatici, ch' hanno questa proprieta ch'il corno del piede loro manco di dietro; guarisce dal mal caduco, come lo praticano quei animali per se stessi, stropicciandosi vicino a l'orecchio con quel piede, quando sentononsi soprapresi da quella malattia. Ritrovansi ancora molte altre fiere selvatiche, e varie sorte d'uccelli ciascheduna nel tempo suo, e sarebbero più assai, se non fosse la sciochezza delli abitanti d'ammassar senza necessita tutto cio che viene loro ad incontro, perche dicono, se quei fussero lasciati, avisarebbono li altri di non tornar più da questa banda. Vi sono similmente martorelle, e scuri alcuni delli quali volano.

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47. This may have been the first notice sent to Propaganda about the absence of idolatrous practices among the American Indians. These Canadian Indians were animists, as the next sentence implies.

Sono miniere di ferro, d'acciaio, e di rame, ma adesso inutili. Il terreno è fertile e li Padri Recolletti havendo spianato undeci giornate de terra vicino al convento suo, vi sono cresciuti legami d'ogni sorte e frutti, e meloni, e cocomeri li quali son' venuti prestamente a maturità. Vi sono ancora molte lambrusche, che portano uve selvatiche in gran quantita, delle quali se puo far vino, ma li Religiosi non hanno voluto servirsene per consecrare, dubitando se quelle lambrusche son veramente viti. Per tutte queste regioni credesi ch'il terreno e benissimo e ch' essendo coltivato sarebbe di gran fruto.

Le nationi pur' sono differenti, perche li Montagnette<sup>48</sup> vicini dell' habitatione delli Francesi sono più cortesi, e le donne loro più caste, più honeste, e più coperte che quelle delli altri popoli et hanno a disgusto ogni dishonestà. Li Yrochesi<sup>49</sup> sono li più cattivi, traditori, crudeli, e micidiali ch' amassano tutti quelli che rincontrano cosi Francesi ch' altri e fanno sempre guerra contra tutti. L'Algumechini<sup>50</sup> son più stupidi, pochi in numero, affabili assai, ma pur come li altri vindicativi et impudici. L'Incantatori son' il più piccolo popolo, e quasi medici delli altri. Questi invocano il diavolo che chiamano Manitù, e tanto per quelle invocazioni che per le minacce ch' usano son' temuti dalli altri. Le Huroni sono li principali e più popolosi, lontani dall' habitatione di Quebec di 1,500 mil. Non se puo andar dritto da Quebeco in quelle Provincia per le selve senza sbadagliarsi; però se va per li fiumi, ma con grande difficoltà per le cascade d'acque che sono assai in questi fiumi.

Li vascelli per navigare chiamati canoati son' d'una pezzia; non contengono in tutto che 4 homini cio è duoi rematori e duoi passeggeri. Quando arrivano alle cascade, portano la sua gondolina su le spalle ad alto su la cascata e rintrano per continuar' il viaggio, e non hanno altra usanza dit barchette che questa, la quale è commoda per affogarsi essendo molto volubile.<sup>51</sup>

In questa Provincia delli Huroni son' molte ville e terre fortificate secondo l'usanza loro. Le case sono più belle e più grande delle altre. Li abitanti sono affabili, ma ladroni, e desiderosi di tutto cio che veggono, e quando dimandano qualche cosa, non bisogna negarla, altrimenti sara pericolo d'esser maltrattato. Questi sono li più incontinenti di tutti, e non fanno il peccato di nascoso, ma pubblicamente, e le zitelle e donne sollicitanno li homini cosi del paese come stranieri al peccato delle carne. Sono al resto quelli che vivono più politicamente, havendo un Capo tanto per il consiglio come per la guerra. Non lavorano la terra con l'aratro, mà fanno solamente certe fossette per soterrarvi il biado di turchia (grano turchesco), il quale è l'unico del passe, poi l' havendo colto, quando è in maturità lo spezzano con li denti per far minestra per tutta la famiglia e questa à la più grande occupatione loro.

48. Montagnais Indians.

49. Iroquois Indians.

50. Algonquin Indians.

51. On the margin we find: "Se stampato in Francia un libro detto *Il Viaggio delli Huroni*, nel quale sono descritti li costumi loro, composto per fra Gabriele Sagar, Minore Recoletto." Sagar's *Le Grand Voyage* was published at Paris in 1632.



La nazione dei Neutri e assai piccola, distante delle altre di cinque o sei giornate, ma l'habitatione bonissima, l'aria temperata, il terreno abbondante di frutti, e d'animali per la caccia. Vi sono ancora molte terre ben' habitate, et li P. Gioseffe della Rocca d'Aillon<sup>52</sup> havendo il primo scoperto quella provincia sperava fruttificarvi per la fede più che nelli altri luoghi, mà essendo accusato dalli popoli vicini d'esser' spione, penso d'esser ammassato d'un colpo d'accetta, fu fatto prigionio e spogliato d'ogni sua roba e del breviario istesso, et dopoi gl'Inglesi havendo preso il Canada, mentre ch'il Re era nell' assedio della Rocciella, fu costretto con gran disgusto suo ritornarsene in Francia. Il Padre Gioseffe Caron, il quale era stato in Canada undeci anni, ritornó similmente in Francia, dove è morto con grand' opinione di Santità, et è stato piano d'alli selvatichi, quando l'hanno saputo, perche honoravano molto la sua virtù. Questo ha fatto un ditionario della lingua loro, la quale parlava benissimo, mà non è stampato.<sup>53</sup> Molti altri Padri sono morti in Canada, parte affogati nelle aque dei grandi fiumi, parte di fredo, alcuni di fame, e li altri hanno patito grandi disagij essendo stati alcune volte duoi anni intieri senza mangiar pane, bere vino, n'usar' sale, vivendo solamente dalla minestra che fanno li selvatichi con biada di Turchia, nella quale fanno cuocere insieme ad una volta carne e pesce d'ogni sorte, dormendo su terra ignuda, et altre incommodità quasi infinite.

Cio ch' hanno potuto far' le Religiosi Recolletti in quel paese è stato primo di stringere la briglia alli Christiani Francesi, per impedirli di correre al' vizio, del quale le occasioni vi son' grandissime. E poi invernando con li naturali Canadesi, con incredibili fatiche battezzare avanti la morte coloro ch' hanno potuto insegnare, e disporre al battesimo, li quali non sono stati pochi, e vi sono arrivate cose miracolose in confirmatione della fede, tra le altre d'un Canadese di 32 anni, il quale essendo stato catechisato, et havendo promesso farsi Christiano, e non facendolo, cascò in una grande infermità, nella quale fu assalito visibilmente d'alli diavoli, contra li quali combatteva e con parole e con le braccia essendo divenuto quasi furioso: in questo accidente, lui et li suoi parenti chiamarono un frate laico, il quale era solo all' hora nella habitatione, e l'infermo havendoli dimandato il battesimo et essendo stato battezzato subito gli diavoli disparvero dalli occhi suoi con gran maraviglia de tutti li assistenti Canadesi e Francesi che vi erano molti, e dopo duoi o tre giorni l'infermo lodando Iddio morì felicemente.

Sono stati ancora battezzati molti fanciulli, li quali li Padri e le Madri loro offerivano, ma essendo loro stessi sollicitati di farsi Christiani dicevano che la Religione pareva bona, ma ch' erano troppo vecchij per abbracciarla; permettevano pur' che li figliuoli suoi pregassero Iddio, invocassero il Nome di Gesu e di Maria e di San Gioseffe, facessero il Segno della Santa Croce;

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52. The following part was first printed Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XXV (Quaracchi, 1934), pp. 130-132.

53. Le Caron, in 1616, compiled the first dictionary of the Huron language, which still remains unpublished. He died at Paris, March 29, 1632. Cf. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, p. 107.

54. Should be "dieci". The Jesuits came to Canada in 1625.



di maniera che la porta della conversione loro è aperta più che mai, adesso massimamente ch' il Re n'ha scacciato via li Inglesi, e che l'Eminentissimo Cardinale Duca di Richelieu ha preso il negotio a cuore, havendo ordinato alli Padri Recolletti di ritornare quest' anno insieme con li Padri Jesuiti, li quali duoi<sup>54</sup> anni fa, non solo del consenso, ma anco del desiderio delli Padri Recolletti furono associati nella detta missione et al primo viaggio furono alloggiati nella meza parte del Convento di San Carlo di Quebeco e li Recolletti nell' altra, d'onde essendo stati scacciati tutti dalli Inglesi, nondimeno fecero anco non obstando la guerra un' altra missione, ma con infelice successo, perchè essendo stati presi dalle navi Inglesi li Patri Jesuiti furono condotti in Inghilterra e poi in Francia, li Recolletti posti insieme con il popolo ch' andava per dimorarvi, in una cattiva nave con poche vettaglie et abbandonati alli venti et la mare, presi et ripresi da diversi corsali, sequitati dalli Turchi, alla fine scamparono et presero terra al favore dell' artiglieria di Bayona di Galicia, donde vennero in Francia.<sup>55</sup> Adesso la differenza di Religione ch' hanno vista nelli Inglesi, ha fatto ritornar' molti alli primi costumi loro, ma s'Iddio favorisce l'impresa di questa missione, deve sperarsene gran frutto. E dunque pregata la S. Santità di regular la missione, accioche li Religiosi di tutte le Provincie di Francia, che saranno zelosi della salute dell'anime, possino senza disordine e confusione impiegarvisi. E perche il primo imbarcamento è vicino, è supplicata di consolar' della sua benedittione quei Padri che vanno esporsi alli disagij, pericoli, et alla morte per coltivar la vigna del Signore Iddio, il quale pregheranno per la prosperità di S. Santità. Quam Deus, etc.<sup>56</sup>

## DOCUMENT IV

*Regulations for the Recollect Mission in Canada, submitted  
to Propaganda by the Procurator of the Recollect Mission in Rome,  
January 8, 1635*

Pro Missione Novae Franciae haec possent praescribi Patribus ac Fratibus Provinciali et Definitoribus Provinciae Sancti Dionysii Franciae.

In primis in quantum fieri poterit mittantur juvenes sacerdotes probatae vitae ad linguam nationum istarum capescendam, quae ab antiquioribus difficillime potest addisci.

Ut Fratres commorantes in iis regionibus teneantur sive censeantur {esse} ex Provincia Parisiensi (quae est Sancti Dionysij), ex qua mittuntur, gaudeant omnibus privilegiis Provinciae, possint cum Commissario eligere unum fratrem discretum ex suis, qui posset impedito Commissario venire ad Capitulum Provinciale et esse in illo vocalis ut sunt Guardiani et discreti aliorum conventuum.

55. Thus far the *Annales Minorum*, as in note 52.

56. *Propaganda Archives*, series: Scritture antiche, 259, fol. 110-113. A second copy in the same volume, fol. 119, 130-131 was compared and only minor differences were found. The extract in the *Annales Minorum* was taken from this second copy.

Quod si Commissarius impeditus non posset venire ad Capitulum, Guardianus Conventus Sancti Caroli loco ipsius veniat, gaudeatque praecedentia erectionis istius Conventus sicut alii Guardiani locorum inter hunc ordinem, verusque ac legitimus Guardianus ab omnibus habeatur, et tam iste quam Conventus fratres et habitantes in allis missionibus, si favente Deo augeantur, in tabula Deffinitorii nominabuntur, et in omnibus Capitulis Provincialibus citabitur Commissarius Novae Franciae, qui etiam poterit esse Guardianus dicti Conventus ob paucitatem fratrum; sed quando veniet ad Capitulum Provinciale, vel quando absens erit a Conventu, ex consensu fratrum alium poterit substituere.

Habebit licentiam dictus Commissarius mittendi fratres sibi subditos in missionibus necessariis, eosque revocare, quando voluerit, et pro negotiis dictarum missionum delegare aliquem in Franciam.

Missio ordinabitur cum sufficienti numero fratrum ab Eminent. Cardinalium Sacra Congregat. de Propaganda Fide praepositis, qui in Novam Franciam missi non poterunt revocari nisi ex consensu Commissarii Generalis Missionis.

Provincialis tamen Vicarius Parisiensis pro tempore existens poterit esse Superior cum suo Deffinitorio dictae Missionis, et Conventus Sancti Caroli et aliorum instituendorum.

Quia Provincialis non potest semper manere in Conventu Parisiensi, Guardianus Parisiensis posset esse promotor tanti negotii, et quando in capitulis vel congregationibus tractatur de istis Missionibus, et ubi etiam necessarium fuerit, semper advocabitur.

Nominabitur et instituetur promotor Novae Franciae, qui jam est constitutus pro Recollectis in Curia Regis Christianissimi cum suo socio, et qui in singulis Capitulis Provincialibus dictae Provinciae nominatur ex eadem Provincia pro Gallia tota, qui cum aliis negotiis Recollectorum necessaria ad Missionem Novae Franciae promovendum procurabit.

Alius Procurator poterit eligi in Curia Provinciali Provinciae Parisiensis, qui cum Patribus Provinciali et Commissario Novae Franciae et Promotori Curiae Regis esistenti correspondentiam habebit cum obligatione monendi Sanctissimum et Congregationem Cardinalium de Propaganda Fide omnia necessaria digna ad promotionem tantae Missionis.

Si qui alii Fratres ex aliis Provinciis Ordinis volunt laborare conversioni dictorum Novae Franciae infidelium, ut jam praescriptum est in Consilio Regis Christianissimi, subjicientur Provinciali Provinciae Parisiensis, et Commissario suo in Nova Francia esistenti ad confusionem vitandam.

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Fish, *Guide to Italian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1911), p. 156, gives it as written in 1634. This is the correct date, and not 1635 as stated in the *Annales Minorum*. The report was evidently compiled in the spring, on the eve of the annual embarkation of 1634, for it was under consideration at Rome in the summer of the same year. Fish lists the second transcript as having been written in 1639. It is possible that the Recollects submitted another copy of this report to Propaganda in 1639. Yet, with the exception of a few verbal changes, the two transcripts are identical in every detail.

Si quae alia videntur necessaria, poterunt Eminentiss. Dni Nostri Cardinales Sacrae Congregat. de Propaganda Fide praescribere, et in omnibus obediet Minister Provincialis, et Definidores cum tota Provincia Parisiensi annuent sacrae eorum voluntati.

Fr. Antonius Saulderonius, Parisinus, Guardianus Sti.

Dionysii in Francia, et Procurator Provinciae Parisiensis

Recollectorum in Curia Romana.

Romae, die octava Mensis Januarii anni 1635.<sup>57</sup>

JOHH M. LENHART, O.F.M. Cap

*St. Augustine Friary,  
Pittsburg, Pa.*

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57. *Propaganda Archives*, series : Scritture antiche, 259, fol. 115. Listed by Fish, *Guide to Italian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1911), p. 156.

## COMMENTARIES <sup>1</sup>

### I

#### *Professor Pegis and Historical Philosophy* <sup>2</sup>

In continuation of its very excellent series of "basic works" of the great philosophes, Random House now presents a two volume edition of selected texts by St. Thomas Aquinas, edited by Professor Pegis of Fordham University. The first volume is given over entirely to the full text of Part One of the *Summa Theologica*, while the second volume consists of Chapters 1-113 of Part III of the *Contra Gentiles* followed by Questions 6-21 and 49-114 from *Summa Theologica prima secundae* and by Questions 1-7 from *S. Theologica secunda secundae*. The texts are those of the English Dominican Translation, with some slight revision by Mr. Pegis, chiefly by way of giving more literal renderings of technical terms. The Notes refer to the sources of citations in the text, as do also the Index and Bibliography. The two volumes, despite a number of typographical errors, constitute a faithful and serviceable edition of the works which they contain. The reviewer's task, in this case, reduces to a consideration of Mr. Pegis' choice of texts, and to an examination of his rather provocative introduction.

Obviously the task of distilling St. Thomas' vast literary output into two modern volumes of "basic writings" was one of no small difficulty. To give adequate representation to one major work, in its lengthy scholastic form, was bound to entail inadequate representation of St. Thomas' writings as a whole, as regards their diversity of form and subject matter as well as their chronological position in his intellectual career. By devoting all of one volume, and nearly all of the other, to the *Summa Theologica*, Mr. Pegis chose very definitely to sacrifice variety to solidity. I believe that the preference for solidity as against variety is entirely sound, but I am not so fully persuaded by Mr. Pegis' partiality to the *Summa Theologica* over the *Contra Gentiles*. In Part I of this latter work St. Thomas comes to closer grips with many philosophical doctrines than he does in the first part of the *Summa Theologica*, and for the modern reader the *Contra Gentiles* makes easier reading on account of its organization by chapters rather than by the form of *quaestio disputata*. Such a substitution, moreover, might have conserved enough space to permit inclusion of at least a good slice of one of the shorter works, such as the commentary on Boethius' *De Trinitate*. Obviously no choice of texts could have satisfied everyone, and Mr. Pegis' selection will no doubt be approved by many.

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1. *Editor's Note*: The two following articles were originally submitted as book reviews. Due to their character and length, however, they are being published as articles with the permission of the respective authors.

2. *The Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas*. Edited and Annotated with an Introduction, by Anton C. Pegis. (New York, Random House, 1945. Two Volumes, 2360 pp.: \$7.50.)



The introduction which Mr. Pegis has written for this edition, covering nineteen pages, offers much more ground for criticism and controversy. One might have expected an introduction to an edition of this kind to consist of a brief resumé of historical and biographical facts relevant to the career of St. Thomas, coupled with some helpful indications to the reader of the structure, method and content of St. Thomas' philosophy. A few pages are in fact devoted to a summary of the main events of St. Thomas' life, to an enumeration of his principal writings, and to an indication of the intellectual situation produced in thirteenth century Paris by the reception of translations of Greek, Arabian and Jewish philosophical writings. But by far the major part of this introduction is given over to a highly rhetorical discourse on the philosophical meaning of the history of philosophy, for Mr. Pegis himself and for St. Thomas Aquinas. Philosophical doctrines are scarcely mentioned, let alone examined; historical affiliations expressed through a multitude of "isms" are made the topic of impassioned inquiry. Much of the discussion is rather confusing, so that it offers some difficulty to the reviewer in any effort to formulate its content. I will nevertheless make the attempt, first examining the main sequence of opinions stated by Mr. Pegis, and then seeking to understand the philosophy of the history of philosophy by which these opinions are determined.

The great task of St. Thomas, according to Mr. Pegis, was to assimilate the philosophical and scientific heritage of the Greeks and Arabs to the Christian tradition, and to construct a universal Christian synthesis which would embrace this philosophic heritage. St. Thomas was not alone in facing this problem, since it was the paramount issue of the thirteenth century. Mr. Pegis indicates, however, that the contemporaries of St. Thomas lacked philosophical independence in their attempts, so that their syntheses are to be characterized by various historical labels: St. Bonaventure produced an "Augustinian synthesis," St. Albert the Great an "Avicennian synthesis," Siger de Brabant an "Averroistic synthesis," and Roger Bacon a "revelationist synthesis" later characterized as Avicennian. There is no mention of an "Aristotelian synthesis" as the achievement of St. Thomas, who is said to have refused to follow any philosopher or school.

Two things distinguished St. Thomas Aquinas from his contemporaries, namely, his unwillingness to accept either Avicenna or Averroes as the official spokesman of Aristotelianism and, what is even more important, his equal unwillingness to consider Aristotle himself as the official spokesman of philosophy. (pp. xxxix-xl)

How these things distinguished St. Thomas from his most eminent contemporary, St. Bonaventure, will be a puzzle to most of us. We may well ask on what grounds Mr. Pegis considers himself justified in pigeon-holing St. Albert, St. Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, and indeed most other mediaeval philosophers, according to various historical "isms," while insisting that such a treatment of St. Thomas Aquinas is erroneous and unphilosophical.

There is no private or esoteric reason why St. Thomas thought as he did, no secret motive, no hidden thesis, no neat formula in which the historian might ultimately entrap him — as though to say: there, *there* is the essence of Thomism! It is an illusion for the historian of philosophy to think in this way. . . . When

St. Thomas himself reconstructs the history of philosophy, it is actually *philosophy* whose rise among men he is recording. (pp. xl-xli)

Now surely, if it is an illusion for the historian of philosophy to think in this way about St. Thomas, it is quite as much an illusion for him to think in that way about other philosophers, or to attempt to entrap *them* by a neat formula. Yet for Mr. Pegis the philosophies of St. Thomas' contemporaries, and indeed those of nearly all his predecessors and successors, are characterized and interpreted in terms of historical "isms," reducible ultimately to Platonism.

Platonism and Aristotelianism, he says, "represent the two basically different approaches to reality that are philosophically possible." (p. xlii) While it is perhaps rash to assume *a priori* that no third approach to reality is philosophically possible, we need not question the essential truth of this statement. Intellectually history seems indeed to substantiate it, to the extent that mankind has never been able to maintain its intellectual vigor through one of these approaches to the exclusion of the other. Without the fertility and insight provided by the Platonist method of inquiry, Aristotelian analysis would soon exhaust itself in a sterile vacuum — as indeed it did at certain moments of the later scholastic period. Without the discipline of Aristotle's analytic method, and without the Aristotelian interest in carefully differentiated fields of scientific inquiry, the Platonist quest for wisdom tends to lose itself in an attenuated sphere of generalization, or in poetry and mysticism. The two traditions are diverse in method and aim, to such an extent that one cannot be brought into contradiction of the other except by illegitimate distortion, while attempts to unify them into a single philosophy have proved destructive of both elements. It has been the interplay between the Platonist and Aristotelian types of inquiry, not only in philosophy but in the physical and mathematical sciences, that has given fertility and growth to each tradition. The philosophic and scientific advances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, stimulated by the compresence and interplay of the two traditions, provide an excellent illustration of their bi-polar relationship in man's intellectual life. The foregoing convictions are my own, not those of Mr. Pegis.

Platonism, for Mr. Pegis, is what it was for St. Thomas — the doctrine of Ideas as presented in Aristotle's works for purposes of refutation. Despite the initial statement that Platonism is one of the two basic approaches to reality that are philosophically possible, it is contended that the Platonist approach is fundamentally erroneous in that it substitutes the intellect's picture of reality for reality (p. xlii). In passing, I cannot but wonder how a basically erroneous approach to reality can be conceived as "philosophically possible," or conversely how a philosophically possible approach can be at the same time basically erroneous. In terms of what philosophically principles is it thus judged? It's own, already presumed to be erroneous? Or by those of the "basically different" philosophy that is philosophically possible? A paradox of this kind would, I think, worry a philosopher; it should, perhaps, give concern also to an historian of philosophy who makes it the very foundation of his interpretation of the history of philosophy.

That Mr. Pegis does base his interpretation of the history of philosophy, as well as his estimates of the doctrines of philosophers, on the assumption

that Platonism is philosophically error even while being "philosophically possible" and "basically different," is substantiated by his remarks on the significance of St. Thomas. While one might suppose that Mr. Pegis would insist that the importance of St. Thomas lay in his philosophic doctrine rather than in his historical interests and judgments, this is not the case. For Mr. Pegis finds the significance of St. Thomas not in his work as a philosopher, but in his rôle as an historian of philosophy who utilized philosophical knowledge to the end of making a diagnosis of the history of philosophy. St. Thomas' most significant achievement is said to be his discovery that the Platonism attacked by Aristotle, and presumably refuted by him, permeated and vitiated the whole history of philosophy as represented by the later Greek thinkers, the Arabs, and by the Augustinian tradition of the Christians. The significance of St. Thomas, as Mr. Pegis sees it, is not that of a philosopher in the strict sense, for it does not lie in his philosophic doctrines concerning reality, but in his judgments on past philosophies; the significance of St. Thomas is located by Mr. Pegis in his work as an historian of philosophy, more precisely in his diagnosis of the history of philosophy as a continuing tradition of Platonist error. If this seems extreme, let me quote Mr. Pegis at length.

To read the history of philosophy, therefore, not only in its intelligibility but also in its truth, to go beneath the mask of Narcissus that covers so much of that history, such was the aim of St. Thomas. By 1259 St. Thomas knew clearly what he had to do to achieve this aim. He saw that, since the Arabs had learned their philosophy from the Greeks, it was necessary for him to discover Greek philosophy behind Avicenna and Averroes. More than this, since he found so much Platonism in those who were supposed to be the disciples and commentators of Aristotle, he was driven to look more directly into the meaning of Platonism and particularly into the quarrel of Aristotle with it. It is not extreme to suggest that when St. Thomas succeeded in disengaging Aristotle from Platonism and in seeing the full power of the Aristotelian critique of Platonism, he had in his hands the solution to the major issue of the thirteenth century. An Aristotle so disengaged was able to expose the basic errors of Platonism. An anti-Platonic Aristotle — an Aristotle who saves the reality of sensible things, who defends the unity of man, and who refuses to make reality to the image and likeness of the human intellect on the pretext of giving to knowledge a basis in reality — was a veritable defender of Christian thought at the point of its greatest vulnerability, the age-old Platonism of St. Augustine and Boethius. (p. xliii)

This picture of the rescue of Christian thought, by an Aristotle purified of every hint of Platonism, from the dangers introduced into it by St. Augustine, seems somewhat extreme to me, even if not to Mr. Pegis. Even if it be granted that Boethius was a Platonist and St. Augustine also a Platonist, it is surely a bit fanciful to attribute to them the same Platonism. And if Boethius, who has been held by many to have been a pagan, was not a good defender of Christian thought, it seems strange that St. Augustine, greatest of the Church Fathers, should have to change places with Aristotle the pagan as the "veritable defender of Christian thought." It is one thing to say that the intellectual interest in the world of sensible and movable bodies, characteristic of Aristotle, is not un-Christian; it is another thing to take this interest as the very mark of the Christian, and to brand indifference to the physical world as intellectual sin in a Christian.

It seems that Plato's philosophic sin, for Mr. Pegis, was his conviction that human intelligence was better employed if directed toward eternal and



immaterial reality rather than toward the sensible realm of change and appearance. Insofar as St. Augustine likewise held that the most proper subjects of intellectual inquiry were God and the soul, he shared this Platonic error. The truly Christian philosopher, as Mr. Pegis sees him, is the man who seeks to find his way to God, intellectually, through the study of natural bodies, with Aristotle's *Physics* as his guide. To be sure, the *Physics* of Aristotle did culminate in a pantheon of Intelligence moving the spheres; but St. Thomas, through his criticism of Aristotle's doctrine of the eternity of motion, purified the Philosopher of this un-Christian outcome to his inquiry, and made the *Physics* a safe guide for Christians in their quest for Wisdom.

The importance of what St. Thomas did for the *Physics* of Aristotle cannot be stressed too much. It was not only that he made an Aristotelian book at once painless and useful for Christian thinkers. For the *Physics* was quite a shock for the thirteenth century, a shock that was almost fatal. The shock could have been the occasion for Christian thinkers to reconsider the general outline of the Platonic conception of the nature of the physical world. (p. xlv).

Mr. Pegis does not seem to think that this was in fact the final outcome of the shock. But if mathematical physics, as it has developed from the fourteenth to the twentieth century, has not involved a reconsideration of the Platonic conception of the nature of the physical world, or in any case a rather full abandonment of the conceptions of Aristotle's *Physics*, my reading of the history of science must be pretty bad. Without doubt the introduction of Aristotle's *Physics* to the Christian world contributed greatly to the birth of a new age of scientific progress, but that progress began to take place only as the laws and concepts of that book were brought into question — in many cases by philosophers who held that the doctrines of the *Physics* involved contradiction of the Christian principles of divine power and freedom, and of the Christian conception of the origin and nature of the world. In terms of Mr. Pegis' labels, it was the Platonism, the Augustinism, even the Avicennism, present in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century philosophy, that enabled such men as Richard Middleton, Duns Scotus, Ockham, Buridan, Albert of Saxony and Nicolas Oresme to bring new concepts and methods, and new mathematical instruments leading up to the calculus, to the problems of motion and change which Aristotle's *Physics* had failed to answer in a manner reconcilable with observed fact. The philosophy which Mr. Pegis blames for its substitution of ideas for realities was at least fertile enough in its production of ideas to give us the means of developing physical theories which could be used, and with remarkable success, in dealing with physical things.

But not even the scientific fertility of Platonism is recognized by Mr. Pegis, perhaps because he has made it a first principle in his criticism of Platonism that this philosophy cuts us off from physical reality by seeking to use ideas as a means of understanding it. Thus he dismisses, in one short paragraph, two of the most powerful intellects of the fourteenth century, Duns Scotus and Ockham. After stating that Plato built "between thought and sense an insuperable barrier of essence, a barrier that the human intellect would never be able to cross," (p. xlvii), he says:



Whether Duns Scotus, for example, ever crossed that barrier, except in the entirely Platonic sense of making the being of things to the image of being as it is thought, is, to say the least, an embarrassing issue for the historian of the great Franciscan thinker. Certainly Ockham thought that Duns, who wanted a world of singular beings, was colonizing reality with abstractions; though it is no more than right to add that Ockham himself, professed anti-Platonist, nevertheless founders on the same Platonic barrier and ruins both the intelligibility of things and the intelligibility of knowledge (p. xlvii).

The rather caustic tone of Mr. Pegis' summary disposal of Duns Scotus and Ockham, a disposal made in narrative style with no shred of evidence or argument to support it, gives indication of a peculiarly partisan spirit in this game of diagnosing the history of philosophy in terms of "isms" and errors. It does seem to me that the error which Mr. Pegis attributes to Plato, of making over reality in accordance with the pattern of his thought, is particularly dangerous in the field of the history of philosophy, especially when the historian of philosophy attempts to interpret that history as an evolution of doctrines of which the philosophers themselves were not aware. If one is going to use Hegel's procedure of reconstructing intellectual history in such manner as to illustrate his own philosophy, he should at least be as frank about it as Hegel, and make explicit statement of the procedure.

Despite all his strictures against historicism, and despite his reiterated warning that the history of philosophy should be construed in terms of philosophy, it seems to me that Mr. Pegis is unable to think of philosophy except in terms of the history of philosophy. He constantly exhibits St. Thomas as a man whose primary concern and principal achievement was that of understanding, diagnosing, and reconstructing the history of philosophy. "For," he says, "if the philosophical significance of St. Thomas is not to be found in his diagnosis of Greek and Arabian philosophy as in an open book, then it simply does not exist" (p. xl). Mr. Pegis insists that knowledge of philosophy is the necessary instrument for the task of understanding the history of philosophy, but in this means-end relationship it is the history of philosophy, or rather a philosophy of the history of philosophy, which is the end.

What does a philosophical understanding of the history of philosophy involve? It involves nothing less than the discovery of philosophy itself. Only he who knows philosophy can see the history of philosophy in its light. If there is philosophical truth, then it and it alone is the real location of the meaning of the history of philosophy. The point is not only that the history of philosophy, being the history of ideas, is fundamentally intelligible and demands an intelligible reading. Merely to know the history of philosophy as intelligible is not to be free of error. For philosophy, being the work of the human intellect, reflects its author as well as reality. And it is not at all surprising that philosophers should people reality with what they think it to be rather than with what it is. Still less should it be surprising that the major problems of the history of philosophy center around this fact (p. xliii).

On a casual reading the above quotation seems to mean that the history of philosophy cannot be understood unless the philosophies comprised in that history are understood. But a second reading reveals that this is not what is on Mr. Pegis' mind. What he really means is that the history of philosophy is meaningless unless it is seen as material for a philosophy of the history of philosophy, in terms of which judgment may be passed on the philosophies and philosophers of the past. Conversely, Mr. Pegis

conceives of philosophy itself as consisting in a "correct" reading and evaluation of the history of philosophy. "When St. Thomas himself reconstructs the history of philosophy," he says, "is it actually *philosophy* whose rise among men he is recording. It is as impossible to understand St. Thomas' reconstruction of that record without seeing the truth on which it depends as it is to miss the smile of reality in the record" (p. xli). There is a curious ambiguity in all these statements concerning philosophy and the history of philosophy, but a careful study of them has convinced me that the philosophy which Mr. Pegis has in mind, in these statements, is essentially philosophy of the history of philosophy, whose material is provided by that history, and not the activity usually denoted by the word "philosophy," of attempting to understand reality in its universal and non-historical structure.

I think that the explanation of Mr. Pegis' basic attitude toward the history of philosophy, of his attachment to historical labels in the characterization of philosophies, and of his partisan spirit in the judgment and estimation of philosophers and their work, is to be found ultimately in his conception of what the task of the historian of philosophy is. Most of us, whose philosophical education and literary labors have been directed to the study of philosophers of the past, feel a certain discontent with the secondary rôle which we occupy as historians of philosophy, and wish that we might be philosophers in our own right. It is not impossible for an historian of philosophy to be a philosopher, as it is not impossible for a sculptor to be a musician. But if philosophy is anything other than the history of philosophy, it is not *qua* historian of philosophy that a man is a philosopher. It is this somewhat Aristotelian distinction of functions which Mr. Pegis, as it appears to me, declines to recognize. Rather he is trying to be a philosopher *qua* historian of philosophy, and to exhibit St. Thomas as one who succeeded in doing just this. But to justify such a course, it is necessary to show that philosophy *is* the history of philosophy and that the history of philosophy, rightly conceived, *is* philosophy. I do not think that Mr. Pegis is willing to accept this consequence unequivocally, for although he concedes and indeed affirms that the history of philosophy, rightly conceived, is philosophy itself, the converse statement, that philosophy is the history of philosophy, is rejected as an unphilosophical historicism. Yet there is no real escape from this consequence, *if* it is to be maintained that a man is a philosopher *qua* historian of philosophy.

It is this dilemma, I believe, that accounts for the obscurity, subtle ambiguity, and rhetorical passion of Mr. Pegis' discussion of the philosophical treatment of the history of philosophy. He is not content that the historian of philosophy should be merely a scholar, merely one who studies the philosophies of the past to understand them. In order to exhibit the historian of philosophy as a philosopher *qua* historian of philosophy, Mr. Pegis views his task as that of *reconstructing* the history of philosophy in such manner as to express a philosophy. What makes Mr. Pegis' dilemma the more acute is the fact that Platonism, which alone can give philosophical justification for this use of history, is the philosophy which Mr. Pegis condemns as basically erroneous. When Plato tells a tale of the age of Chronos, when St. Augustine writes his *De civitate Dei*, or when Hegel lectures on the history of philosophy, conformity to fact is of minor importance since

history is not conceived by them as a record of events but as an illustration of ideas — real because possible. But how can Mr. Pegis be comfortable in adopting this Platonist conception of the nature of history, as justification for a philosophy of the history of ideas in which Platonism is exhibited as basically erroneous?

In conclusion I should like to say again that Mr. Pegis has done a very good editorial job in preparing this edition of St. Thomas' "basic writings," his revisions of the translation being all to the good, and his Notes adequate and useful. Notwithstanding my criticism of his introduction, I have found it provocative and stimulating, if only because it has impelled me to clarify my own ideas on the relations between philosophy and its history in order to make a diagnosis of Mr. Pegis' sincere, eloquent, yet confusing discourse.

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## II

### *The Nature and Origins of Scientism*<sup>1</sup>

THE AQUINAS-LECTURE, 1944, deserves the attention of students of Medieval Scholasticism, and of Medieval Franciscan Scholasticism in particular, — for several reasons, which will become apparent in the course of this critical review.

Fr. John Wellmuth, S.J. has chosen a timely topic. Our age is suffering under the disease of 'scientism' which has wasted many an outstanding mind and which has for a long time been blocking the way to a sound metaphysics as science (in the Medieval sense). Scientism is defined as "the belief that science, in the modern sense of that term, and the scientific method as described by modern scientists, afford the only reliable natural means of acquiring such knowledge as may be available about whatever is real" (p. 1-2). The further explanations and characterizations of scientism are clear and very useful. What has been called 'inductive Metaphysics' falls also under the diagnosis of scientism. About the extent of it, and the infection of even some Neo-Scholastics by it, Fr. Pacificus Borgmann, O.F.M. has published a thorough investigation in *Franziskanische Studien* (1934, pp. 80-103; 125-150): Gegenstand, Erfahrungs-grundlage und Methode der Metaphysik. Eine wissenschafts,theoretische Auseinandersetzung mit August Messer.

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1. *The Nature and Origins of Scientism*. (The Aquinas Lecture, 1944). By John Wellmuth, S.J. (Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1944. Pp. 60 ; \$1.50)



The main part of the lecture is devoted to the origin of scientism. A just appreciation and criticism of this part demands that we first note that the author does not claim originality as regards the discovery of the origin of scientism in the Middle Ages. For he writes in a prefatory note (p. 49): "My indebtedness to the researches of Professor E. Gilson and of the abbé K. Michalski must be acknowledged at once, lest the reader suppose that this lecture is based primarily on an independent study of the works of the later medieval philosophers mentioned in these pages." Hence our criticism will be not so much against the author, but rather against his secondary sources which he has used with much skill. We wish we could be sure of the meaning of the following statement in the prefatory note: "For the most part, I have been content to examine in their contexts the texts quoted by these two scholars, and have, therefore, referred to their works rather than to the original sources, some of which, extant only in manuscript, are at present inaccessible." Does "the context of the texts quoted" refer to the works of the Scholastics criticized by the author? If so, then we feel compelled to say there is not much evidence, as will be shown, that the author has read at least the Franciscan scholars in their context.

It is of course a foregone conclusion that in a lecture not much room can be given to a thorough examination of all sources. However, we think that the author has failed in certain instances to set forth the content of his sources in the best light. Furthermore, he has unfortunately incorporated certain opinions which recent research has proven erroneous. A more critical attitude on his part and a more intimate familiarity with the technical language of Scholasticism would undoubtedly have made him aware of all this. His appreciation of Scholasticism, beginning with St. Bonaventure, is definitely inadequate, as will be pointed out presently.

Let us pass over the remarks — which are at least debatable — to the effect that Scotus Eriugena, St. Anselm, and Richard of St. Victor were rationalists. Also, the author's remarks on St. Bonaventure and his pupils, are certainly not convincing for those who have studied them without certain customary prejudices. But after that we are forced to a plain criticism of certain important details.

The author, after having explained briefly, how St. Bonaventure's depreciation of our knowledge of sensible things, was carried to extremes by disciples of the Seraphic Doctor, and how Richard of Middletown tried to counteract this dangerous development by introducing the idea of a "represented being," which is only a thought-object (an *esse objectivum*), he continues (p. 30): "One can easily understand how such a 'represented being' would fall a ready victim later on to Ockham's razor, leaving only the psychological universal, with the result that such terms as *man*, *animal*, *living being*, would stand only for concepts or psychological entities, not for some real extramental nature shared by all existing individuals of a species or genus." Half of this statement is correct, half, however, incorrect. It is true that Ockham denied the existence of "some real extramental nature shared by all existing individuals . . .", and conse-

quently the name cannot stand for it. But it is simply false to say that according to Ockham a term or a name stands for concepts, if it is taken significatively. On the contrary, Ockham denies this theory of St. Thomas, and of most of the early Scholastics, that names stand for, or signify, concepts and only through the concepts the things. According to him, and according to Scotus and many other Scholastics, the names stand for or signify the corresponding things as immediately as do the concepts. To the reviewer, it is interesting to find that Ockham is blamed for a theory held by St. Thomas.

On the same page we read: "Duns Scotus, while following the philosophy of St. Bonaventure . . .". Most, if not all students of Medieval philosophy will agree with us, we feel certain, that this statement is at least an exaggeration.

On the same page and the following it is stated: "Whereas St. Thomas holds, with Aristotle, that *a posteriori* demonstrations are real demonstrations, though inferior to those which are *a priori*, Scotus considers them to be demonstrations only in a modified sense: 'No demonstration which goes from effect to cause is demonstration in an unqualified sense.'" We are constrained to ask Fr. Wellmuth for the context of this passage, for without it the quotation is absolutely valueless. The author's reference to Gilson, *La philosophie au moyen âge*, p. 229 (in our edition of 1925, p. 228), does not help us, since Gilson presents only the text: "Nulla demonstratio, quae est ab effectu ad causam, est demonstratio simpliciter," without a reference. Though we have spent hours we were unable to find this quotation in certainly genuine works of Scotus. One thing, however, is certain, either this quotation is not in the genuine works of Scotus, or if it should be there, it means that the "*demonstratio quia*" is not a "*demonstratio potissima*", though it is a true demonstration — a doctrine which is held by most Scholastics, since it is genuinely Aristotelean. As far as the theory of demonstration is concerned, St. Thomas and Duns Scotus do not have essential differences, since both follow Aristotelean axiomatics.

Entering now into some details as to how "the field of philosophical demonstration is beginning to be narrowed down" through Scotus' criticism, the author, instead of quoting Gilson, calls upon Ueberweg-Geyer. We read: ". . . and as to the other attributes, such as First Cause and Ultimate End, which were formerly thought demonstrable *a posteriori*, 'by natural reason we can come to some sort of conclusion about them!'" (p. 31). Reference is here made to *De Primo Rerum Principio*, as can be ascertained only by going back to the secondary source used by the author. We absolutely fail to see, how the author from this text in the whole context: In hoc quippe tractatu primo tentavi videre, qualiter metaphysica de Te dicta ratione naturali aligualiter concluderentur (the new edition by Marianus Müller, Herder, 1941, reads *concludantur*), can conclude or, at least, suggest, that "the formerly thought demonstrable" attributes of God are not demonstrable according to Scotus. Scotus has given demonstrations of these truths, not only in the *Oxonienne*, but also in the preceding chapters of the tract from which the quotation is taken; and, what is more, he is

especially careful to give such demonstrations as will satisfy Aristotelean axiomatics. At least Ockham did not misunderstand Scotus in this regard, since he knows well that the Doctor Subtilis intended to give necessary proofs of these attributes, that is, demonstrations.

On page 32 and the following, we come across the following surprising statement: "Scotus' well known distinction between intuitive knowledge and abstractive knowledge, which seems to have been connected with the illumination theory of knowledge as proposed by St. Bonaventure, is important less for what it is, than for what was later done with it." That this distinction is less important for what it is, is the author's personal opinion, but it is not the opinion of all the Scholastics after Scotus, since all of them, even of the thomistic school, accepted it. But what of the connection of Scotus' distinction with the theory of illumination of St. Bonaventure? In a footnote (57) the author gives the following explanation of it: "The connection would be as follows: Matthew of Aquasparta, one of St. Bonaventure's pupils, was so alive to the difference between knowledge of universals and knowledge of singulars that he considered two different kinds of 'species' to be needed for these two kinds of knowledge." Concedo! But even now we must issue the warning that Scotus' abstractive knowledge is not necessarily universal knowledge. Then, the author continues: "Scotus' distinction between intuitive and abstractive knowledge tends to emphasize the same difference, although not in the same way." Nego! First, we deny that Scotus' abstractive knowledge is an equivalent of the universal species of Matthew, since Scotus admits the possibility of abstractive knowledge of singulars; hence we can have, of the same singular, an abstractive and intuitive knowledge. Secondly, we deny that there is any yet reasonably proved connection between St. Bonaventure's theory of illumination, either through Matthew, or through any other Scholastic, with Scotus' theory of intuitive and abstractive knowledge. The author may be assured that things are far more complicated than his secondary sources even hint, and that a few random surmises do not establish historical truths or dependencies.

Before coming to Ockham, the author goes back to the rise of the famous, and usually misunderstood, 'terminism'. Here the venerable Peter the Spaniard, later Pope John XXI (whom one of the main witnesses of the author, Michalski, has so badly misunderstood) gets his full share of responsibility for the rise of skepticism in spite of the warnings of Grabmann and others, and in spite of the appraisal of this great figure of Scholastic Logic by De Wulf and Lukasiewicz. We read (p. 34): "In this connection the influence of the *Summae* (sic!) *Logicales* is especially notable. This debater's manual, compiled in the thirteenth century by Peter the Spaniard from an earlier *Summa* of Lambert of Auxerre, was widely used by those who took part in the University 'disputationes' ". Fr. Wellmuth shows that he depends here on one of the earlier works of Michalski, in which this opinion was expressed. It seems to have escaped his attention that Michalski himself does not mention this opinion in his later works. Grabmann, who has to be considered as one of the outstanding authorities



in the field of studies on Peter the Spaniard, came to this conclusion (against the earlier opinion of Michalski whom he quotes): "Ich neige umgekehrt mehr der Meinung zu, dass Lambert von Auxerre eher den Petrus Hispanus benützt hat" (Handschriftliche Forschungen und Funde zu den philosophischen Schriften des Petrus Hispanus, des späteren Papstes Johannes XXI. (+1277), in Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München 1936, p. 42).

What the author, or rather Michalski, says about Peter the Spaniard, simply shows a lack of understanding of Medieval Logic, and in particular of this excellent work of Logic, which for centuries was the classical textbook of all the Scholastics: Thomists, Scotists, Albertinists as well as the "Moderni". Let us only mention, that it is not exact to say: "the discussions in it are explicitly said to be merely probable, with no reference to demonstration and exact knowledge" (p. 34). Does that mean that Petrus Hispanus thinks all his strictly logical discussions which are a resumé of Porphyry, the Categories, Perihermenias, the Prior Analytics, the Topics and the Sophistics are only probable discussions, or does it mean that the matter to which his dialectics is applied, is probable and yields only probable conclusions, without denying that there is also a demonstrative syllogism, of which the author has no intention to treat? For he says exactly this: *Sola dialectica* (which culminates only in the *sylogismus dialecticus* and not in the *sylogismus demonstrativus*) *probabiliter disputat de principiis aliarum scientiarum*. Certainly, a "*sylogismus probabilis*" which yields a probable conclusion or an opinion, is not probable in its form, but only probable in its matter; hence its *logical* discussions are not "merely probable."

In this connection a rather amusing translation has to be noted. We read on page 35: "A typical illustration is the following statement of Peter of Candia: 'This is the stand which I took on my second principle against Master G. Calcar; and now I am maintaining the opposite here, not because I think one is more true than the other, but to bring in some various shades of colorful thinking'." We are afraid that this translation misses completely the sense of the Latin text; for the Latin text, copied from Michalski reads: *Quam positionem sustinui in secundo meo principio contra Magistrum G. Calcar, et nunc oppositum hic teneo, non quod magis unum putem verum quam aliud, sed ut coloretur multipliciter imaginandi via* (footnote 61). Let us correct this colorful translation: "*Positio*" is better translated with "thesis", or "opinion", which Peter had formerly defended (*sustinui*), and that does not necessarily mean that it was his own opinion. "*Principium*" does not mean "principle", but "beginning", viz. a solemn beginning of lectures. "*Secundum principium*" means here "the solemn beginning of lectures on the second book of the Sentences." In fact, we know the four "*principia*" of Petrus of Candia. According to Cardinal Ehrle, S.J.: "Wie der Name andeutet handelt es sich beim '*principium*' um eine 'Eröffnung', nämlich um das *principium lecturae super libros Sententiarum*..." (Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia, des Pisanerpapstes Alexander V., *Franziskanische Studien*, Beiheft 9, Münster i.W. 1925, p. 47). The term



"coloretur" is also misunderstood by the author. "Colorare" occurs many times in the writings of Scholastics; we have located it, for instance, in St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. It has rather the meaning of "to touch up a weak argument," or "to give to an argument the appearance or color of conclusiveness." "Imaginari" is usually taken in the sense of a proposed new solution, or hypothesis, or opinion, which somebody has invented, "imagined", often with the connotation of being false. We leave it to the reader to correct accordingly the very incorrect translation of the author. Let us only add that "principia" were, according to Ehrle (p. 41) "prunkhafte Schaudisputationem angehender Theologiedoktoren." Therefore, one should be cautious in drawing such far-reaching conclusions as the author, or rather Michalski, does.

It is impossible to correct all the statements made by the author, or his sources, about the great Scholastics: Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon and others, and especially about Ockham. However, two main corrections have to be made as regards Ockham.

It has apparently escaped the attention of the author that the quotation in foot note 60 is a composition of two texts taken by Michalski from two different chapters (and from one of the worst manuscripts). As to the content of these texts, which deal with supposition, we did not get the impression that Michalski, whom the author follows, really understood it at all. As regards the expressions "suppositio propria and impropria" etc. and "de virtute sermonis," we shall deal with them in a forthcoming article in the *Franciscan Studies*. Michalski has created unbelievable confusion in their regard. For the time being it may suffice to say that these "dangerous" terms occur already in the writings of the classical theologians of the 13th century. St. Thomas is no exception, for he uses the distinction between "*sensus proprius and improprius*" — which is exactly the "*suppositio propria*" and "*impropria*". When the author says: "It is easy to see the effect which such a distinction would have on interpretation of the Scriptures," we would like to counter by saying: "It is easy to see the effect which the lack of such a distinction or its equivalent would have on interpretation of the Scriptures; for without it we would have to admit, that God is literally fire, that God has literally hands, a face, etc."

On pp. 40-41 the author presents a very inexact account of Ockham's theory of intuitive and abstractive knowledge where almost every line needs correction. Again, we readily admit that he is not to blame for it, but rather his sources. Only one rectification will be made here, since it concerns also an incorrect translation offered by Professor Gilson.

On p. 40 we read: "Since he (that is Ockham) holds that from abstractive knowledge nothing can be concluded about the existence or non-existence of the object of such knowledge, it is by intuitive knowledge alone that we perceive the existence or non-existence of things." According to Gilson (*The Unity of Philosophical Experience*, Charles Scribner's Sons,

New York 1937, p. 69), an abstractive cognition is "a cognition, from which nothing can be concluded concerning the existence, or non-existence, of its object." In his "Philosophie au Moyen Age", p. 125, the distinguished author writes, literally quoting Ockham: "Par opposition à la connaissance intuitive, nous dit-il, la connaissance abstraite ne nous permet pas de savoir si une chose qui existe existe, ou si une chose qui n'existe pas, n'existe pas."

Now this is a gradually (in the inverse order) deteriorating translation and paraphrase of the following text of Ockham: *Notitia autem abstractiva est illa, virtute cuius de re contingente non potest sciri evidenter, utrum sit vel non sit (Ordinatio, prol, q.1,Z)*. The correct translation of this text would be (underlining the important differences): An abstractive cognition, however, is that by which it cannot be *evidently known* about a *contingent* thing, whether it exist or does not exist." Only the French text is correct in translating "sciri" with "savoir"; unfortunately, both English versions have "conclude". Several times, Ockham has distinguished the possible meanings of "sciri"; only in its most restricted sense has "sciri" the meaning of "to know a conclusion which is the effect of a demonstration." Since Ockham is here speaking of contingent things, a demonstration, as inferential operation, is excluded by definition; hence Ockham takes "sciri" in this case, as is evident from the whole context, in the larger sense, expressly explained by him, viz. to know any true proposition, or even to know something by simple apprehension. We consider this error of translation, or paraphrasing, a grave one. However, the omission of "evidenter" in the French translation and in both English paraphrases does not really alter the meaning of the text — though it is still a regrettable omission. On the other hand, the omission of "contingente" in all the versions is very serious, and simply deplorable, for it changes the meaning of the text essentially. In this passage, Ockham is concerned only with individual *contingent* facts, the existence of which (for instance: Socrates exists) cannot be known by simply *thinking* or imagining these facts. The case is different with the cognition of universals and of necessary objects. If we give a correct interpretation of this and similar texts of Ockham, we shall find that they do no harm to our natural knowledge of God (which in fact is expressly admitted by him.)

Much more could be said about other questionable statements made by the author or rather by his sources, about Scholastics, and mostly about the Franciscan school. But, we have to bring to a close this already lengthy critical review. The author of the Aquinas Lecture, 1944, will realize that the very inadequate interpretation of Scholastics will hardly convince anyone acquainted with the sources. We recommend his few pages on "scientism" as clear and well explained: we reject almost *in toto* his proofs of Medieval scientism and its origin. If we are allowed to express a hope at the end, it is this — that the author, because of his qualification in Logic which is so essential for an understanding of late Scholasticism, may join, or continue, the work of the two great Jesuit scholars, Cardinal Ehrle and Franz Pelster, and explore, on the basis of texts which are not so scarce in this country, the still almost virgin field of late Scholasticism. Already Cardinal Ehrle and Pelster have warned against the customary indiscriminate condemning of this period. Father Wellmuth, then, certainly also will experience what

the present reviewer has been experiencing for many years, and what was expressed by Albert Lang (with reference to Ehrle) in the following words: "Wie die Scholastik überhaupt, so wird auch das 14. Jahrhundert durch eingehendes, das ganze Quellenmaterial erfassendes Studium in seiner Beurteilung nur gewinnen. Je mehr man die Scholastik, und zwar auch die Spätscholastik erkennt, desto weniger verkennt und verachtet man sie" (*Die Wege der Glaubensbegründung bei den Scholastikern des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge, Bäumker, Bd. 30, heft 1-2, Münster 1930, p. 241).

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## In Memoriam

The Late Father FELIX KIRSCH, O.F.M. Cap., Ph.D., Litt.D.  
(† March 21, 1945)

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"Felix, qui non habuit animi sui tristitiam, et non excidit a spe sua"  
(Ecclus 14 : 2).

He bore his name in truth, for the name revealed his inmost soul; because of that we have the assurance, as we whisper a Memento for our departed friend and confrère Father Felix, that he "is not fallen from his hope."

Positive, earnest, straightforward, in nature and in manner, Father Felix made all his interests, his indefatigable labors, his holy aspirations, and his inner life converge upon one goal, the Rule and Life of the Seraph of Assisi. As far as the human mind may ascertain, those who knew him are happy to confess that he reached his goal. While we grant that first praise is due to God who gave him an *anima naturaliter Franciscana*, we plead, nevertheless, that God's grace was never void in him. Hence his life looks to us now like the golden circle of Bonaventurian Theology: *Omnia a Deo, de Deo, secundum Deum, ad Deum*.

Far and near Father Felix was known as a prudent director of souls, an eloquent speaker, a fascinating lecturer, a voluminous writer, an inspiring retreat master, but all these qualities are seen in their true setting when we designate him as The Educator "par excellence." The thousands who have sat at his feet will render witness to this, and every line he wrote will bear it out. Meanwhile, the present writer would find it a hopeless task to list all the books, not to speak of the innumerable articles, comments and other contributions, that the magnificent genius of Father Felix has given to the public, and with which his facile and always stimulating pen has enriched our current periodical literature.



Father Felix was the first from among other branches of the Franciscan Family to join the "Franciscan Educational Conference," which had been launched by the Provinces of the Friars Minor in 1919. For many years he served as secretary of this Conference, and his influence at all times was as wholesome, broad, and beneficial, even as his presence at our meetings was inspiring and full of genuine charm. The Franciscan Movement, both here and abroad, is deeply beholden to this "true Israelite in whom there is no guile" (John 1 : 47).

Fr. THOMAS PLASSMANN, O.F.M.

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### ITEMS OF INTEREST.

According to *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, XXIV (March 1, 1944), the Causes recently acted upon in Rome included 29 members of the Franciscan Order.

*The Sphere* (London) November 11, 1944 issue carried a story and pictures of the Celebration held in Assisi October 3-4 on the Feast of our Holy Father St. Francis. A Commission of Vatican City officiated at the Ceremonies. The Solemn Mass was offered by an American, the Very Rev. Bede Hess, O.F.M.Conv. Minister General. One of the photographs shows the late Minister General of the Friars Minor, Very Rev. Leonardo Bello, delivering an Address on St. Francis in the Presence of the Bishop of Assisi.

An Art Exhibit of The Life of St. Francis of Assisi was held at St. Paul Guild Gallery, New York City, January 26 to February 1, according to the Winter number of *The Epistle*.

Father James Van der Velt, O.F.M., outstanding scholar, and author of the recent book *City set on a Hill*, delivered a special discourse at Blessed Sacrament Church, the Center of the N. Y. Observance of the Church Unity Octave, on January 20, 1945.

According to the *English Catholic Newsletter* (November 4, 1944), Father Agnellus Andrew, O.F.M. was elected to the Executive Committee of *The Sword of the Spirit*.

According to the Program of the Second Congress of Franciscan Tertiaries of the Province of St. Francis and St. James, of Jalisco, Mexico, and held in Guadalajara January 15 to 20, 1945, a number of very interesting addresses were delivered, on such subjects as : Franciscans and the Hospitals in Mexico; The Franciscan Missions in Mexico; Fray Margil of Jesus; The Twelve Franciscan Apostles; The Activities of the Third Order; The Spiritual Treasures of the Third Order; The Franciscans and the Social Life of Mexico; The Martyrs of the Province of Jalisco, and others.

The Rev. Fr. Gonzalve Poulin, O.F.M. was named Director of the newly-created School of Social Service at the University of Laval, according to *Culture*, V (December, 1944).

On May 26, 1945, Father Alphonsus Bonnar, O.F.M., author of the scholarly volume *The Catholic Doctor*, addressed the Catholic Social Guild at its program held at Holy Name Hall, Manchester, England.

According to the *Pittsburg Press*, December 24, 1944, a 470 year old Manuscript Abridgment of Scotus' writings was presented to the University of Pittsburgh Library. The donor was Thomas Mellon, nephew of the late Andrew Mellon, and he had purchased the manuscript from a N. Y. col-



lector named Voinich. According to the announcement the manuscript is written on 50 leaves of fine vellum, and is signed by a Scribe named Paulus Parianus, who finished copying it in 1474. This work entitled *Opiniones* is attributed by many to Roger Bacon. A Photostatic copy has been requested by the Commission on the Works of Bl. Duns Scotus, and another copy is also available at the Library of the Franciscan's Institute, St. Bonaventure, N.Y.

Father Adrien Malo, O.F.M. President of the Canadian Biblical Association, conducted a weekly broadcast on biblical topics. This series began October, 1944 and concluded April, 1945. Sponsored by Radio-College, it was designed for schools and colleges, and consisted of a Fifteen Minute Lecture and Question Box.

According to *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXXVI (September 22, 1944), the R. P. Ferdinand Fulgence Pasini, O.F.M., thus far Prefect-Apostolic, was elevated to Titular Bishop of the Church of Bybliensi on July 13, 1944.

The Most Rev. Miguel de Olano y Urteaga, O.F.M.Cap. is returning to his Vicariate-Apostolic at Guam, from which he had been taken as prisoner to Japan in 1942. He had been exchanged after 18 months of captivity in Japan.

A recently published *Supplement to the Guide to Catholic Literature, 1940-1944*, contains numerous bio-bibliographical references on interest to Franciscans, and is published by Walter Romig who is also its editor.

An attractive and no less interesting publication came to the attention of the compiler of these notes. It is entitled *Anales de la Provincia Franciscana del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, (January, 1945). This happens to be number one of volume two, and contains such chapters as The History of the Province, Privileges of Religious, Unpublished Documents, Franciscan Activities, and Reviews of recent books and periodicals of interest to Franciscana.

An attractive booklet entitled *You are all One in Christ* was recently published under the auspices of The Michigan Unit of the Catholic Library Association. Father Vincent Dieckman, O.F.M., Librarian of Duns Scotus College, and Chairman of the Unit, is the compiler of this very useful Reading List on Racial Unity.

Father Felix M. Kirsch, O.F.M.Cap. well-known friar and educator died on Wednesday March 21, 1945. He had been interested in the Franciscan Educational Conference ever since its inception, and only recently was appointed one of the Editors of *The Catholic Educational Review*. Born in Wheeling, West Virginia, December 31, 1884, Father Felix received his higher education at St. Fidelis Seminary, and Catholic University of America. From the latter institution he received his Ph.D. in 1930, while St. Bonaventure College conferred on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters in 1927. Father Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., President of the F.E.C. delivered the sermon at his funeral.

His Holiness has confirmed Father Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., Rector of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan, as President of the Pontifical Academy of Science, according to a March N.C.W.C. announcement.

On the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, one of the most widely known Franciscan Educators, Father Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M. celebrated not



only his patronal Feast but also the completion of 25 years as President of St. Bonaventure College and Seminary. Ordained by the Franciscan Cardinal Diomede Falconio in 1906, Father Thomas has done extensive research and pursued his studies both here and abroad, earning his Doctorate of Philosophy from Catholic University, Doctorate of Sacred Theology from Appolinaris College, Rome. He also holds the Lector Generalis, and received Honorary Degrees from St. Francis College, Brooklyn, Canisius College, Buffalo and Niagara University, Niagara Falls, N.Y. He has been President of the Franciscan Educational Conference since its organization in 1918, and served as President of the Association of Universities and Colleges of N. Y. State, and has occupied other posts of distinction in Catholic and secular educational bodies. Present at the informal observance of his Silver Jubilee were Bishop Joseph A. Burke, Administrator of Buffalo, the Very Rev. Mathias Faust, O.F.M., Delegate General, Very Rev. Bertrand Campbell, O.F.M., Provincial of the Holy Name Province, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Julius Dillon, O.F.M., of Shasi, China, as well as leading educators.

IRENÆUS HERSCHER, O.F.M.

*St. Bonaventure College,  
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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Canonical Procedure in Matrimonial Cases. Volume II.* By William J. Doheny, C.S.C., J.U.D. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1944. Pp. 737. \$8.00)

"Everyone who puts away his wife and marries another commits adultery: and he who marries a woman who has been put away from her husband commits adultery." Luke 16 : 18.

In upholding and facing straightforwardly the true sense of these Divine words of Christ, the Church often appears austere, formal, and meticulous in the consideration of cases claiming not to be included in the extensive embrace of this text.

The principal hope and joy of the Church is the spread of Christ's Kingdom on earth through sanctified, indissoluble marriages aiming primarily to people the celestial Jerusalem with new citizens for the greater glory of God and the everlasting happiness of holy offspring.

But, with all her solicitude she is forced to review, at times, unratified, unconsummated, and often (even within the pale of the Church, but more frequently in those recently converted to the knowledge of the sacredness of the character of all Christ's teaching), contracts that are invalid because of impediments, or conditions, well known to the initiated, but not fully appreciated by the uninformed. The Most Reverend Amleto G. Cicognani, Archbishop of Laodicea and Apostolic Delegate of the United States, in his Preface to the book here being reviewed says: "It is true none the less, that the nullity of marriage is oftentimes due to fraud, to the presentation of doubtful or spurious documents, and to the neglect of the proper form. These are the consequences of the haste and frivolity with which individuals sometimes enter upon married life. They also flow from ignorance of the obligation implied in marriage and of the very nature of the marriage bond."

This is a very realistic, but undeniably true, picture of the background leading to greater and greater caution on the part of the Church authority before giving a decision, and it explains the exactitude of rules emanating from the Highest Tribunals of Christ's Church to guide and direct (circumscribe, if you like) the procedure in such cases as are succinctly enumerated in Canon 1990 and in other cases not calling for the solemn apparatus of a more formal trial. In informal cases the decision is a *Sententia*, not a mere *decretum*, and the presiding officer acts the part of judge, and when necessary must be very exacting in his search for moral certitude.

Doctor Doheny has already left the canonists of America gratefully indebted to him by his simple, lucid, penetrating analysis of typical marriage cases in his *Practical Manual* and by Volume I of *Canonical Procedure in the Formal Process* which is thorough and comprehensive; but, Volume II, *Informal Procedure*, is the *corona operis*.

Priests only infrequently have to guide a marriage case into the process of a Formal Trial, and then with angel's trepidation they seek a professed canonist, or the Officialis, for humble enlightenment, but who has not been tempted to offer overassuring words of promise that so-called easy cases will be quickly and favorably adjudicated? Methodical, encyclopedic, thoroughly indexed, quickly accessible information, an easy guide to the average priest, and a secure one to depend upon, are guaranteed by the Apostolic Delegate in the measured words of his Preface: "Every detail of informal procedure is here accurately stated and clearly explained: the impediments to which canon 1990 is applicable (the other impediments call for the ordinary process of law); the *sanatio in radice*: the nature of the certitude required in the existence of these impediments and the elements which constitute them, and, in addition, all the pertinent documents from the Holy See, are thoroughly explained in such a way as to make this volume a complete work."

Having mistakenly considered this writer responsible for the highly laudatory notice of his work in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, the courteous author in a note of thanks reveals the soul of the work, of which the book in print is but the laborious, patient, self-evident, happy expression: "I undertook the work as an apostolate to help souls because many priests willing enough, did not know how to help them." To shed clear light, and bring help and encouragement to the most tedious and often thankless work of zeal a priest is asked to undertake in the reclaiming of souls and families, is practical in word and deed. That this purpose has been successfully accomplished in the production of this manual, is authoritatively declared in the Preface, its acceptability and utility to the matrimonial courts may be gauged by the long list of officials who have reinforced its solidity with their consultation, even if in his own right the author had not already shown the versatility of his pen and the clarity of his thought in several other contributions to the Church's weal.

MICHAEL HARDING, O.F.M.

Holy Name College,  
Washington, D.C.

*The Pastoral Care Of Souls.* By Wendelin Meyer, O.F.M. Translated by Rev. Andrew Green, O.S.B. (St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co., 1944. Pp. 353. \$3.00.)

St. Gregory tells us that the care of souls is the *ars artium*. To put our priestly studies to practical use for the good of the people is ever a pressing and a delicate task. Any good book that can help us to visualize better the needs of the people at present is doubly welcome. The volume under consideration is such a work of recent years written by fifteen priests and one archbishop in Germany. Though a foreign book it is sufficiently general in scope to be useful to all priests.

The great difficulty in appraising a work of this type is the fact that the various chapters are written each by a different person. One chapter will therefore excel another in depth, beauty and usefulness. Yet it can safely be said that each writer in this book approaches his respective subject with experience and the desire to help. There is a surprising amount of

material, and hints for pastoral care are manifold and precious. Perhaps the tone of the entire work is echoed in the opening words of Fr. Meyer.

The helplessness that from time to time invades pastoral life in consequence of revolutionary upheavals induces serious reflection on the part of the clergy. The measures to be taken in such circumstances lie partly in the realm of the practical. But to no less degree they are found in a thorough understanding of the drift of the times. Since the new exigencies of human beings and life have welled up from the soul of the people, they must be understood, appraised, and mastered from the depth of the same origin. The scrutiny that leads beyond the superficial appearances of things and of life can be easier to no one than to the pastor of souls; for theology, which supports and vitalizes his work, gives boundless perspective to life. It is precisely the priest who is in a position to confront these forces, welling up from the souls of the people, with ideas of life which, drawn as they are from divine wisdom, are stronger than any merely natural forces. Of course he must delve into the very depths of Christian philosophy, theology, and the natural sciences... The care of souls will, indeed, always include the molding of the life of the parish in its common-place matters; but it will always spring from a deeply religious viewpoint if it would avoid the danger of becoming routine instead of being a life-giving inspiration (pp. 2, 3).

The chapters can be grouped about these subjects: applying dogma to the conditions of our times in preaching and catechizing; the eternal and ever fresh values of the Bible and the Liturgy; Catholic Action and Revival; Christian Art and Catholic Literature; Psychological Conditions; and the Threat of Bolshevism.

The Church of Christ is the ever new, ever strong and ever fruitful Spouse of the Crucified and Risen Lord. By the grace of Christ and the light of the Holy Spirit she knows how to guide souls in all ages and in all lands. What the Fathers and Doctors of the Church did for the faithful in former times must still be done today by the modern shepherds of souls. This book is a beautiful example of that perpetual power of the true Church to teach the same ancient truths with new vigor, with new zeal and with new applications for the needs of the people. It will give the priest new insight into his priestly studies and a new vision for pastoral work.

CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O.F.M.Cap.

*Mary Immaculate Friary,  
Garrison, N.Y.*

*The Kingship of Jesus Christ According to Saint Bonaventure and Blessed Duns Scotus.* By Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M. Translated by Daniel J. Barry, O.F.M. (Paterson, N.J.: Saint Anthony Guild Press, 1944. Pp. 34.)

If the Franciscan Order ever hopes to win the world to Christ the King, it must make the world acquainted with the magnificent doctrine



of the Franciscan Masters regarding Christ's Kingship. With a few noble exceptions there is little material in English on this great subject. The more welcome, therefore, is this booklet by Fr. Ephrem Longpré. Here we have a scholar and world-renowned expert on Scotus giving us a succinct and clear résumé of the doctrine taught by St. Bonaventure and Bl. Duns Scotus. Even as St. Francis was the Herald of the Great King, so his celebrated sons and Doctors in the Order proclaim the glory and power of Our Great King, Jesus Christ.

St. Bonaventure places "the Incarnate Word in the center of all things, both of the supernatural and the sensible universe, and of the mystical life and Christian metaphysics. He thus raises up an incomparable throne of honor to Christ by constructing a lofty and far-reaching synthesis (p. 2). For Bonaventure Christ is the King placed over Creation by the Blessed Trinity. Christ has full majesty, full judiciary power, and full priestly authority. He will judge the world at the end of time and His universal rule is eternal. Christ is King both by reason of the Hypostatic Union and because of the Sacrifice of Calvary. But the original contribution of Bonaventure to the royal dignity of Christ is due to the double influence of Augustinianism and the Franciscan spirit. Thus "the Seraphic Doctor was led to consider the Incarnate Word as the Mediator and multi-form Center of all the orders of being and thought" (p. 6). Christ holds the central place in all things. He is the Center of the Blessed Trinity, the Center of the Universe, the Center of the supernatural order and the Center of the Church. Christ is also the moral Center, for all virtues are in Him in perfect equilibrium. Finally, Christ is the Center of metaphysics and the speculative sciences. Christ is the Center of all history, the One Who gives both Testaments, heir, meaning, and authenticity.

It remained for Blessed Duns Scotus to raise the regal dignity of Christ to its perfection. "Scotus is truly the leader of that group who have perceived that Christ and the Heart of Mary are foremost in the divine wishes" (p. 12). "Is Christ the foremost object of the eternal decrees, the primary and absolute intention of the Trinity, or is He, on the other hand, a simply occasional Being?" (p. 13). Several Franciscans such as Matthew D'Aquasparta and William of Ware held that the Son of God would have become incarnate *even if Adam had not fallen*. Lull had an opinion similar to that of Scotus. But the latter has one main concern: "Is Christ the first predestined One? Was He decreed first and foremost because of the immense love of His Sacred Heart" (p. 14). Scotus answers: "I hold... that God first loves Himself. Following this, God loves Himself in other beings, and that love is without question ordinate. God wishes to be loved by that One Who is able to love Him supremely. I speak of the love of a being extrinsic to God, or a created being. Finally God foresees the hypostatic union of that human nature which would have had to love Him supremely *even if man had not fallen*" (p. 16). So Christ, on account of the infinite love of His Sacred Heart, is the primary intention of the Holy Trinity. Scotus argues that predestination to glory is a gratuitous gift, logically anterior to complete prevision of sin and demerit. Therefore, no one could be called to glory simply because another had failed in a trial. Hence, Christ is not an occasional Being, but is predestined absolu-

tely by God from all eternity. Mary also is predestined from all eternity, and after that God decreed the rest of the rational creatures and material creation. Christ is Sanctifier also of the angels.

The notes are a well of information and inspiration and will lead many a scholar to seek the original works. The challenge of this booklet is mighty. It is the duty and glory of the friars to bring this doctrine before the world, thus imitating these great masters and other writers who, like Bernadine of Siena and Francis de Sales, popularized these truths in their times.

CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O.F.M.CAP.

*Mary Immaculate Freary,*  
Garrison, N. Y.

*The Doctrine of the Trinity.* By Leonard Hodgson. (New York : Charles Schribner's Sons, 1944. Pp. 237. \$2.50).

Dr. Hodgson's book, highly praised by non-Catholic reviewers, is just another example of modern rationalistic approach to the dogma of the Blessed Trinity. In the words of the author himself, it is an attempt to expound the doctrine of the Trinity in terms of present-day thought. At best it is a poor attempt. Not only did Dr. Hodgson fail to bring any new light on this doctrine, but has shown that he has not the least idea of some aspects of the doctrine. After the reader has perused his book, he arrives at the point where he started.

The author sets out with a new concept of revelation. Revelation, Dr. Hodgson would assure us frequently in the course of his seven lectures which comprise this book, is not the spoken word of God; it is instead a series of divine acts to which the Bible bears witness. Revelation of God is given in deeds, and consists of the whole history of God's dealings with mankind. The Bible provides the empirical element through which the mind reflects on the historical data and arrives at a doctrine of God. It is the task of theology and philosophy to interpret that data. The doctrine of the Trinity is a revealed one in the sense that it was revealed 'in deeds which required to be reflected upon by human reason in order that it might be put into words' (p. 83). Consequently the doctrine of the Trinity is "the inference to the nature of God drawn from what we believe to be the empirical evidence given by God in His revelation of Himself in the history of this world" (p. 140).

We arrive at the knowledge of the Trinity from what Christ has told us during His earthly life of His relations to the Father and the Spirit and from the personal experience of these same relations undergone by Christians in their lives. One is reminded not a little of Harnack's idea of Christianity, for Dr. Hodgson seems to reduce Christianity to the concept of adoptive sonship of God, in Christ, through the Holy Spirit.

Dr. Hodgson assures us that the doctrine of the Trinity is a mystery though not an irrational one. His chief difficulty, however, is how to reconcile the unity of God and the Trinity of Persons. The author adopts an empirical method of approach to his problem. He says that "according to the revelation of Himself which God has given to us in history there are three elements perfectly united in the Divine life, and each of these

elements is itself a Person" (p. 95). The Divine unity is a dynamic unity actively unifying in the one Divine life the lives of the three Divine persons. The essence of the doctrine of the Trinity is the doctrine that true unity is "internally constitutive unity," that is to say, a unity which by the intensity of its unifying power unifies distinct elements in the whole (p. 183). Something similar is to be found in man where feeling, thinking, and willing are unified in the one man; in God, however, the unification of the lives of the three Divine persons in the one Divine life is much more intense and dynamic. Dr. Hodgson does not conceal his inability to reconcile the unity of God and the trinity of Persons; in fact he claims that it is better to maintain an attitude of suspended judgment as to the mode of reconciliation rather than to distort, or explain away, the empirical evidence gathered from God's dealings with mankind.

Dr. Hodgson reveals his complete lack of knowledge of the divine relations. Basing himself on the notion that the three Divine persons are equal to one another, he rejects the traditional doctrine that the Father is the *principium* in the Trinity as a relic of subordinationism. For this same reason he discards the notions of filiation and procession. He acknowledges that he has not "the least idea of what is meant by filiation and procession in respect to the divine being" (p. 144). He does not hesitate to rebuke mildly the Fathers of the Church in general, St. Augustine and St. Thomas in particular, for their teaching on this point. They are thought to be guilty of subordinationism. Dr. Hodgson attributes their teaching to an inadequate grasp of the nature of unity as disclosed by Christian revelation. He boldly affirms that had they lived today, they would be glad to revise what they have written in this respect. The author himself, however, fails to offer us an adequate explanation in place of the traditional teaching which he censures.

Dr. Hodgson's book is neither a contribution to the understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity, nor does it constitute a readable presentation of this central dogma of Christianity. Beyond stating the fact that there are three distinct Persons in one God equal to one another, he adds nothing; nay, with his advanced philosophy and the empirical method of approach, Dr. Hodgson seems to explain away the doctrine of the Trinity itself.

Much more could be said from a Catholic standpoint on various incidental problems touched by the author, but it would exceed the limits of this review.

GREGORY GRABKA, O.F.M.CONV.

*St. Hyacinth's Seminary,  
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*The 'Tractatus de Successivis' Attributed to William of Ockham.* Edited by Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M. FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS, No. 1. (St. Bonaventure, N. Y. The Franciscan Institute, 1944, Pp. xi+122).

The *Tractatus* is, according to the learned editor, a compilation made from William of Ockham's *Expositio super libros physicorum*, and consists of three sections, on motion, place, and time. The main purpose is to show



that motion, place and time are not entities separate from the moved body, the located body and the body moved in time.

The gist of the first section is somewhat as follows. Motion, whether successive and continuous as in change of place, or sudden as in alteration, can be described as the acquisition or loss of something. "To the question, what is change? one must answer by the use of the 'verbal noun' thus: change is the acquisition or loss of something; and this is equivalent to the statement: when something changes, it acquires or loses something" (p. 40). This is evidently a description of the manner in which we perceive change, and is used successfully to dispose of the views that change somehow signifies a thing distinct from the thing that undergoes the change.

Rearranging some statements in the Tractate, this reviewer notes three other interesting remarks bearing on the matter. (1) Change is "sudden" when what is changed, whether part or whole, acquires or loses something all at once (*totum simul*), and not bit by bit. (2) Many "verbal nouns", such as *mutatio*, *motus*, *actio*, are introduced *causa brevitatis loquendi vel ornatus locutionis*, and are derived from verbs (p. 37). Hence, these words should be changed into the more accurate forms *mutatum*, *agens*. Then one will be less likely to reify change. (3) The principle guiding the investigation must be: *Frustra fit per plura, quod potest fieri per pauciora*.

The second part of the Tractate begins with Aristotle's definition of place as the innermost, immobile limit of the body containing [the located body]. It is then stated that neither the situation nor the superficies of the located body is a substance or an accident. In fact, the place of a body is nothing but the superficies of that body, and the superficies, in turn, is not something distinct from the located body (p. 73); just as a vase containing water is called the limit of the container, but that limit is no different from the container, that is, the vase, itself.

The immobility of place mentioned in Aristotle's definition signifies only that the place can be occupied by successive bodies, and can be treated as if it were really immobile. Though the Tractate rejects a portion of what the editor regards as Duns Scotus' views (pp. 85-87), this reviewer fails to understand the rejection. In the *Op. Oxon.* II, d. 2, q. 6, N. 7 & 8, Scotus argues as follows. Place is incorruptible *per equivalentiam* in the following sense. If the medium (*subjectum*) surrounding a body is moved, if, for example, air flows around a body, the same relation of place does not remain as formerly; nor can the same relation remain, if water succeeds to the air, since a numerically identical relation cannot remain in two subjects. Yet the succeeding relation of place, which is, in strict truth, different from the preceding, is none the less the same as the preceding relation through the fact that they are both *equivalent* relations in respect to the local motion of the medium. The Tractate states that this view is false, in so far as it asserts place to be a relation really distinct from the located body. The criticism is hasty; for an excellent way of determining the location of a body at rest in a moving medium is to regard it as holding a series of equivalent relationships to the moving medium. Nor does this view involve the reifying of the relation. Indeed, the view of Duns Scotus is nicely adapted to a consideration of the wider problem of space as a necessary condition for the application of possible predicates, such as near, far,



larger; whereas, the mainly negative view of the Tractate is not particularly instructive.

Time considered in the third part, is the measure of the duration, motion or rest of a thing, a measure apprehended by the mind. We cannot apprehend time as a measure, however, unless we apprehend ourselves as co-existing with some continuous and uniform change (pp. 102, 104). That is to say, any observed duration, motion or rest must be measured by the continuous and uniform motion of the *primum mobile*. But we have already seen, in the first part of the Tractate, that motion, the fundamental term, is not something distinct from the moving body. Time does not signify anything *outside* the mind except motion. Hence, all the more reason to say that time is not something separate from the perduring body. The foregoing sentences are, at least, good statements of how we apprehend and measure time, both vulgarly and scientifically. Whether they can be taken as giving an adequate definition of time is another matter. This reviewer cannot help suspecting that even an entirely changeless universe would persist, become chronologically older.

The Tractate successfully disposes of the view that the instant or "now" is any kind of thing; a view probably involved in such a sentence as this from St. Thomas Aquinas (*S. Th.* I, q. 42, a. 2, ad 4): *In tempore aliud est quod est indivisible, sc. instans, et aliud est quod est durans, sc. tempus*. Ockham's own definition of the instant, given in the *Summulae in libros Physicorum* IV, 10, avoids the danger of reifying a so-called indivisible element, and suggests a method for determining the instant: *Ista propositio: instans est terminus temporis, est vera sub isto sensu; quod, quando mobile movetur, est in isto determinato loco, in quo prius immediate non erat nec immediate post erit.*

The great merit of the exposition in this Tractate is the emphasis on observation and the methods or operations required for analyzing the principal concepts. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the terms matter and form are very infrequently used. The Tractate impresses this reviewer as though it were a preliminary analysis of concepts used in the investigation of physical nature. In other words, the treatise appears rather as a preface to physics than as a metaphysical discussion. The second part, on Place, seems to the reviewer the least satisfactory section. A few words must be said in praise of the editor who has provided such an excellent text, together with a biography of William of Ockham and an annotated list of his works.

J. R. CRESSWELL

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*Essays in Modern Scholasticism.* (In honor of John F. McCormick, S.J., 1874-1943.) Edited by Anton C. Pegis. (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1944. Pp. 295. \$4.00.)

Every philosopher is a teacher of his fellow-men. Unfortunately, however, not every teacher of philosophy is himself a philosopher. *Rara avis!* Father John F. McCormick, S.J., to whose memory these philosophical essays are dedicated, was both a good philosopher and an outstanding teacher, who now lives on in his disciples. In fact, of him it might be said that he is more famed in his oral teaching and influence, and in his pupils, than in his published works. The latter are few in number when compared to the numerous publications of many contemporaries, yet Doctor Pegis, in an introductory essay, ventures to rank Fr. McCormick side by side with E. Gilson in his influence on American Scholastic circles.

In the present volume many of his pupils as well as of his friends and associates do him honor — or have, as events went, erected a monument to his memory. Intended for his seventieth birthday, planned in accordance with his own suggestions, it has become an *In Memoriam* volume, since Father McCormick died before the work was complete. In it the reader is presented with a representative group of essays that cover a wide variety of subjects, both in philosophy itself and in the history of philosophy, written by such outstanding scholars and philosophers as J. J. Wellmuth, S.J., Gerald B. Phelan, A. C. Pegis, and many others. Space does not permit an analysis of any of them; that most of them have already appeared in *The New Scholasticism*, 1943-1944, is tribute to their worth. The present volume is limited to four hundred copies.

IGNATIUS BRADY, O.F.M.

*Duns Scotus College,  
Detroit, Michigan*

*Chroniques des plus anciennes Eglises de l'Acadie.* By R. P. Pacifique de Valigny, O.F.M.Cap. (Montreal: L'Echo de Saint-François, 1944. Pp. xx+147.)

This paper-bound volume of chronicles of the oldest churches in Acadia is a posthumous publication of Father Pacifique, co-founder, with Father Alexis, of the Canadian Capuchin Province. The venerable friar is known as the modern apostle of the Micmac Indians, among whom he spent forty-five years of his priestly life and in the midst of whom he found his final resting place after his death on September 29, 1943. He died in his eightieth year, having lived for sixty-four years as a devoted Capuchin friar.

Father Justin de Montagnac, O.F.M.Cap., prefaces the chronicles with an account of the author's life. We are astonished at the extensive literary work carried on by this famous Indian missionary; we wonder at the great number of linguistic, historical, and geographical items that proceeded from his facile pen. He was a recognized authority on the Micmac language, and an ardent student of eastern Canada's geography and history.

Therefore we accept with confidence Father Pacifique's present chronicles of Bathurst, Rivière Saint-Jean, and Memramcook. They take us back to the early Acadian days of the French missionaries, carry us through the

English ravages, and present a valuable view of present-day conditions. Facts are produced in a wonderful array of persons, places, and occurrences. There are strengthened by valuable critical notes, which show the author's laborious research among many documents and through extensive travel. Their value would have been enhanced by an index. As the book stands, it will prove valuable to those who are interested in early Canada and its history. It covers a very large field in time, and is therefore necessarily condensed.

THEODORE ROEMER, O.F.M.Cap.

*St. Lawrence College,  
Mount Calvary, Wis.*

*The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India, 1291-1942.* By Fr. Achilles Meersman, O.F.M. (Karachi, India: Rotti Press, 1943. Pp. viii+203. Paper.)

The sons of St. Francis first came to India in 1291, but their stay was perforce short because they were on their way to China. They began to establish themselves in 1500, when eight friars, together with eight secular priests, arrived in India with Cabral, who on this voyage had accidentally touched upon Brazil and had claimed the country for the Portuguese crown. From this time onward the friars continued their missionary labors in India until the Portuguese government expelled them in 1834. During these years the Portuguese friars established two Franciscan provinces, of which the province of St. Thomas at one time counted four hundred friars, while the province of the Mother of God had two hundred. The British Friars Minor were the first to resume these labors, but only in 1925, while the Dutch friars joined them in 1934.

This in short is the story told in this book concerning the work of this branch of the Franciscan Order in India. In thirteen chapters Father Achilles recounts the very early work of the friars, and then enters into a description of the labors by the Portuguese friars, enumerating the foundations in both provinces. He indicates the excursions into the Empire of the Great Mogul, enumerates the Franciscan writers of the period, traces the life of St. Gonsalo Garcia, O.F.M., mentions the friars who lost their lives as martyrs, and writes short sketches about the seven Franciscan bishops in India. After giving a short history of the present foundations, the author appends an account of the work of the friars in Burma.

In this little volume Father Achilles presents an important contribution to Franciscan missionology. Even though it does not cover the whole field of Franciscan labors in India — which was not the purpose of the author — this volume is the first extensive account in English on the work of this one branch of the Franciscan Order in India. It had to remain sketchy due to the large field covered. But this very sketchiness seems to constitute its real value. It is a skeleton around which the flesh of more extensive history can be built. The sources indicated in the special introductory chapter and in the footnotes should prove most valuable to the future historian since some of them are here given for the first time. They show



the careful research made by the author and they will indicate the way to the solution of some problems that remain unsolved. The value of the book would have been increased by an adequate index.

LOUIS BIRSACK, O.F.M.Cap.

*St. Lawrence College,  
Mount Calvary, Wis.*

*First Franciscan Missionary in Kentucky.* By Rev. Diomedé Pohlkamp, O.F.M. (St. Anthony Hospital, Louisville, Kentucky, 1944. Pp. 21.)

This pamphlet first appeared in the Christmas number of the "Record" and contains the life of Father Charles Whelan, O.F.M.Cap., who was not only the first missionary in Kentucky, but also the founder and pastor of St. Peter's church, the first Catholic church in New York City. The author seems to imply on page six that the Capuchins were not greatly interested in the life and labors of this energetic and zealous missionary. But, this is only apparently so. The present reviewer himself made an effort to gather material for a short biography in 1914 to serve as an introduction to the Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of the Church of St. John the Baptist founded in 1840. Although sufficient printed material about his labors in New York was available, no reliable sources were discovered outlining Father Charles Maurice Whelan's life and activities before and after his sojourn in New York. Hence, the attempt remained unsuccessful. Fr. Diomedé was fortunate in finding what was lacking and produced not only a short, but fairly complete, biography, and also brought out matters that were not definitely known by historians. Father Diomedé deserves their gratitude for composing this historical document. Although a biography of an humble missionary may not be important in itself, taken together with others, it forms a stone in the foundation upon which the Church in America was built.

KILIAN J. HENNRICH, O.F.M.Cap.

*Our Lady of Sorrows Friary,  
New York, N.Y.*

*Eyes East.* By the Most Rev. Paul Yu-Pin. (Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1945. Cloth. Pp. 181. \$2.00.)

"Eyes East" is a collection of Statements and Articles by the Vicar Apostolic of Nankin and Apostolic Administrator of Kiating in China. A natural consequence is that, on the one hand, the author covers not all phases, and on the other hand, much material is duplicated. However, it has also the benefit that each chapter is complete in itself. The learned author, who is also a member of the supreme government council, knows his native China, presents the brighter aspects of the nation in the past and for the future. Deep shadows must have been intentionally omitted because they would not contribute to his purpose of establishing amicable relations with the United States and its people. One would like to know a little about the army of the North which refuses to co-operate with the Chungking government as well as about the solution of the problems arising from the fact that neither Japan nor Russia nor England want a strong and resourceful



China. The fact that the author places his only hope in America, shows from what direction the wind blows. But, the above criticisms are not intended to diminish other values hidden in this book. War is not its principal theme. Much more important are the inherent democratic traditions and almost Christian morality, religious spirit and long-suffering of the Chinese people. Upon these general qualities, the bishop places great hope for the future of the Church in the Far East. No doubt the reader will come to similar conclusions. Here again it seems to become true that one's loss is another's gain. All students of the missions and of the Chinese struggle to make progress in every field of endeavor, will appreciate this fine and authoritative volume.

KILIAN J. HENNRICH, O.F.M.Cap.

*Our Lady of Sorrows Friary,  
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*Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, translated by Beatrice Reynolds (ix+389pp.; \$6.00).

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## CONTENTS

THE "DE FONTIBUS PARADISI" OF ALEXANDER IV ON THE "SUMMA THEOLOGICA" OF ALEXANDER OF HALES .....	<i>Robert Prentice, O.F.M.</i>	349
ALEXANDER OF HALES, O.F.M.; HIS LIFE AND INFLUENCE ON MEDIEVAL SCHOLASTICISM ..	<i>Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv.</i>	353
THE SYSTEM OF METAPHYSICS OF ALEXANDER OF HALES .....	<i>Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M.</i>	366
A MANUSCRIPT OF ALEXANDER OF HALES .....	<i>Gaudens E. Mohan, O.F.M.</i>	415
THE "INTELLECTUS AGENS" IN THE "SUMMA" OF ALEXANDER OF HALES .....	<i>Margaret M. Curtin</i>	418
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ALEXANDER OF HALES .....	<i>Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M.</i>	434
BOOK REVIEWS .....		455
<p>Giordani, <i>The Social Message of the Early Church Fathers</i>; Cunningham, <i>The Morality of Organic Transplantation</i>; Hellriegel, <i>The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass</i>; Sencourt, <i>Carmelite and Poet: A Framed Portrait of St. John of the Cross</i>; O'Brien, <i>Measgra Mbichil Ui Chlerigh, Studies in Honor of Brother Mbichil Ui Chlerigh, Chief of the Four Masters</i>; Augustine, <i>Some Loves of the Seraphic Saint</i>; Bourke, <i>Thomistic Bibliography</i>; Kock and Riedl, <i>Giles of Rome: Errores Philosophorum</i>; Bittle, <i>The Whole Man: Psychology</i>; Brennan, <i>History of Psychology from the Standpoint of a Thomist</i>; du Noüy, <i>La Dignité Humaine</i>; Quillian, <i>The Moral Theory of Evolutionary Naturalism</i>; Comenius, <i>The Angel of Peace</i>; Werfel, <i>Between Heaven and Earth</i>; Beck, <i>The Nurse</i>.</p>		
BOOKS RECEIVED .....		471



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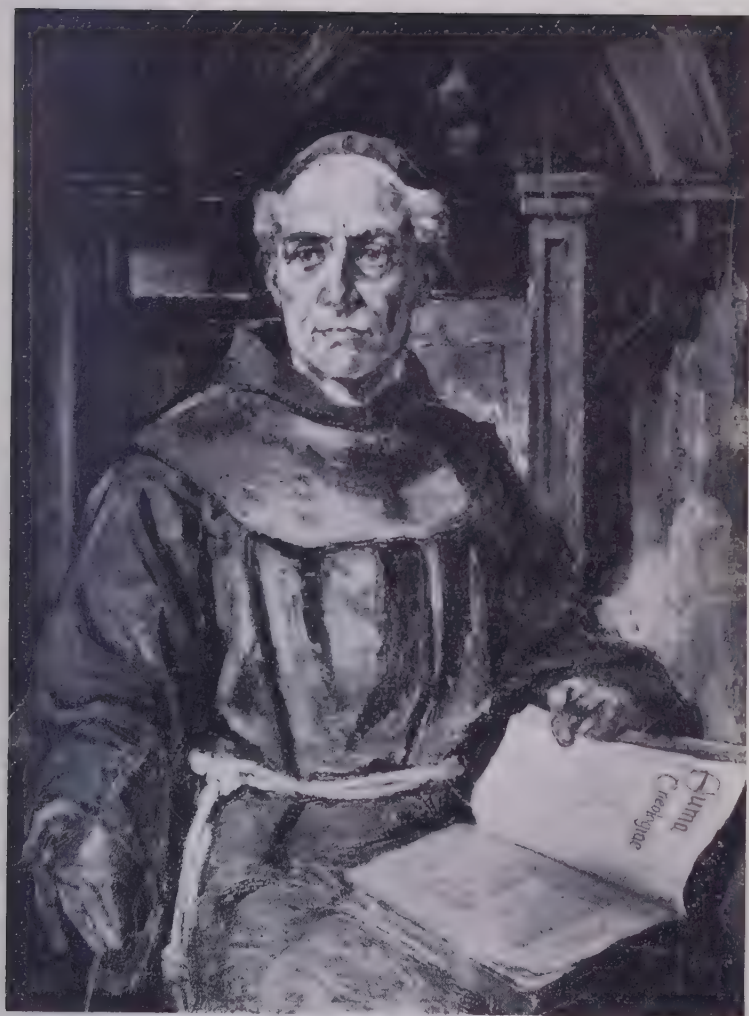
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All communications, whether of a business or a literary nature, should be sent to the Corresponding Secretary, Franciscan Studies, St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, P. O., N. Y.



THE IRREFRAGABLE DOCTOR: ALEXANDER OF HALES



Through the pages of these Studies  
the Franciscan Order recalls with  
benediction its first Master at Paris.

Alexander of Hales, (1245:  
1945) "Doctus Irrefragabilis," "Doctus Doctorum,"  
"who labored to compose a  
Summa in which ranks of  
irrefragable sentences are  
arranged to crush the obstinacy  
of contentious falsehood  
with the weight of truth."

*Crucis signum Tau littera fronti Francisci  
scribitur.*

Antiphon from the Office of the Stigmata.





## Bull of the Most Holy Lord Pope Alexander the Fourth to the Minister of the Friars Minor in France.

**A**lexander, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our beloved son, the Minister of the Order of Friars Minor in France, health and Apostolic benediction.

A river rising from the springs of paradise, namely the abounding knowledge of Sacred Scripture, in our times through the mouth of Friar Alexander of honored memory of your Order, has bounteously flowed forth upon the earth with a joyous impetus, bringing more clearly to light the treasures of knowledge and salutary wisdom. Indeed, the same friar, as we learn from those things that he wrote and handed down, was full of God, for only one speaking in the spirit of God would by penetrating inquiry attain to those mysteries of eternal truth. We therefore, placed his endeavours at the common good, and by undertaking the holy task of this laborious work he labored to compose a Summa about theological questions more useful indeed than lengthy, which will certainly be advantageously of service to the progress of those wishing to study in the law of the Lord, and in which ranks of irrefragable sentences are arranged to crush the obstinacy of contentious falsehood with the weight of truth. Should a discerning reader dislike some of the lengthiness of this Summa, the continuous usefulness of its parts to you who study it will make its lengthiness brief in such a way that in so great an array of words seeming to contain innumerable utterances of divine profundity, nothing else can reasonably offend us than that the labor of perfect piety is not perfected. For God put an end to the works of this friar before he completed the time of the task undertaken and called him to the agreed-upon denarius of the reward enstored. For this reason all that has been written seems but little and insufficient for the satisfaction of the soul unless the massiveness of so great a work receive the completion of its beginning, a completion of which the part presented holds the readers in uncertainty.



Wisely consider that this maimed work of God, which Divine Wisdom Itself through the ministry of Its servant has begun with the resplendent beauty of its already finished portion, is profanely discarded if carelessly cast aside. Wherefore, we strictly command in virtue of holy obedience by ordaining to your discretion that with the advice of discreet scholars from among the friars you call to Paris from the different regions of the administration of your Order friars necessary in number and suitable in accomplishment. To these for our part you will enjoin unto the remission of their sins and the abounding of merit that sedulously assisting our beloved son, Friar William of Melitona (to whose care the task is entrusted), and mutually helping him and one another, they ultimately accomplish the undertaking of the aforementioned Summa without expenditure of delay, and beseeching help from the one and the same Spirit of God Who by his grace distributes the wonderful gifts of his knowledge.

Given at Anagni, on the seventh day of October, in the first year of our Pontificate.





## ALEXANDER OF HALES, O. F. M.

(ca. 1170-1245)

### *His Life and Influence on Medieval Scholasticism*

*Gloria doctorum — decus et flos philosophorum,  
Auctor scriptorum — vir Alexander variorum,  
Norma modernorum — fons veri, lux aliorum,  
Inclitus Anglorum — fuit archilevita, sed horum  
Spretor cunctorum — fratrum collega Minorum  
Factus egenorum — fuit primus doctor eorum.*

THIS YEAR (1945) marks the seven hundredth anniversary of the death of Alexander of Hales (b. before 1170 at Hales, or Hailles, in Gloustershire, England; d. August, 1245 at Paris). His influence on the golden age of Scholasticism was so pronounced that scholars have proudly given him the titles *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, *Fons Vitae*, *Theologorum Monarcha* and *Doctor Doctorum*. He is looked upon not only as the "father of the Franciscan School of Philosophy and Theology" but also as the "founder of Scholasticism in the strict sense" of the word.<sup>1</sup> His importance can be gleaned from 1) his life; 2) his disciples; and 3) his works.<sup>2</sup> Since this third phase is being treated in another article of this number of *Franciscan Studies*, I shall limit myself primarily, although not exclusively, to the first two phases of his life.

#### 1 — HIS LIFE AND CAREER AS A TEACHER

Little is known of Alexander's early youth. He undoubtedly studied first at some monastic school in England and not improb-

1. *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 10.

2. Cf. Felder, Hilarin, O.F.M.Cap., *Histoire des Etudes dans l'Ordre de Saint François* (Paris: Picard et Fils, 1908), p. 192.

ably at Oxford. He later went to Paris where in due time he obtained his Master's degree, first in the Faculty of Arts (Philosophy) and then in Theology. Roger Bacon is authority for the statement that Alexander was *Magister Regens* in the Faculty of Arts at Paris in 1210; also, that he was an archdeacon. Whereas the designation of the year 1210 is the first certain date in the life of Alexander, it is still uncertain who conferred on him the title of "Archdeacon" — the Bishop of Paris, or some English bishop. Hurter also styles him "Chancellor of the Diocese of Paris."<sup>3</sup> It is not improbable that after his course in the Arts, Alexander also took up the study of Law, which had been prescribed for the University of Paris by Pope Honorius III in virtue of the papal Bull of 1219.<sup>4</sup> The author of the *Firmamentum Trium Ordinum*, in fact, calls him a Doctor of Laws;<sup>5</sup> for that reason, some authors (e.g. Henry of Ghent)<sup>6</sup> are willing to concede the authenticity of the *Concordia utriusque juris* frequently attributed to him. In 1220 Alexander joined the teaching staff of the faculty of theology and soon become one of the most celebrated teachers of the whole university of Paris. Here, until death, he continued to teach, attracting students from all over Europe, from among the secular clergy as well as from the religious orders. For some undefined reason he was particularly fond of the Franciscans, and in 1230 (or 1231) he joined their community.

The exact date of Alexander's entrance into the Order of Friars Minor has long been a controversial question. Most of the older authors like Wadding<sup>7</sup> fix the date at 1222; on the other hand, many modern writers, like Pamfilo da Magliano,<sup>8</sup> Theophilus Domenichelli,<sup>9</sup> Franz Ehrle<sup>10</sup> *et alii* favor the year 1228. These base their claim on Brewer, who in a Register of the fifteenth century, which belonged at one time to the monastery of the Friars Minor in London, says: "Friar Alexander of Hales, an Englishman by

3. H. Hurter, S.J., *Nomenclator Literarius* (Innsbruck, 1899), II, 202.

4. Cf. Jo. Hyacinthus Sbaraglia, O.F.M.Conv., *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo Aliisque Descriptos* (Rome: Editio Nardecchia, 1908), p. 17.

5. Edition of Paris, 1512, p. 42.

6. Cf. Felder, *op. cit.* 194, note 4.

7. *Ad annum* 1222, No. XXXVI.

8. *Geschichte des hl. Franziskus und der Franziskaner*, p. 406.

9. *La Summa de anima di Frate Giovanni della Rochelle* (Prato, 1882) p. 73.

10. "Die Spirituellen," in *Archiv f. Literatur u. Kirchengeschichte*, III, 579.

birth, Doctor, Chancellor and Archdeacon of Paris, having bid adieu to the pomps of the world, assumed the habit of the Friars Minor in 1228." <sup>11</sup> Hilarin Felder, however, together with many other modern critics, for weighty reasons, hold out for the year 1231. <sup>12</sup> Endres, in his classical *Des Alexander von Hales Leben*, <sup>13</sup> prefers to set the date as between 1231-1232. St. Antonine in his *Summa Historialis* <sup>14</sup> says, indeed, that Alexander entered the order while Elias was Minister General, which would mean sometime between 1232 and 1239 (his second term of office); however, as Felder <sup>15</sup> points out, St. Antonine depends almost entirely for his assertions on the author of the *Chronicle of the Twenty Four Generals* and the older chronicles. But the Chronicle does not say that Alexander entered the Order during the generalate of Brother Elias, but merely that during his generalate Alexander of Hales, then teaching at Paris, was held throughout the whole world as a most famous and celebrated Master. <sup>16</sup> Felder's main argument for not setting the time before the year 1231, or much longer thereafter, is the fact that according to Denifle-Chatelain the Dominicans were the only religious friars who conducted a school for all students (*École publique*) before the year 1230-31. <sup>17</sup> Hence, before that time the Friars Minor could not as yet have enjoyed the privilege of an "École publique," and hence Alexander of Hales could not as yet have entered the order, for it was only after his entrance and because of his being a Parisian Master, as all agree, that the Friars Minor were allowed to grant academic degrees at Paris. <sup>18</sup> According to the general laws affecting medieval universities the mere fact that a Master of a University like Paris taught at a House of Studies, was sufficient to render the friary capable

11. *Monumenta Franciscana* I, p. 542. cf. *Analecta Franciscana* I, p. 266.

12. *Histoire des Etudes*, *op. cit.* p. 190.

13. *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, 1888, p. 33.

14. *Sancti Antonini Summa Historialis*, pars III tit. 24, c. 8 (Lyons, 1586) p. 771 as quoted by Felder, *op. cit.* p. 190, note 3.

15. *op. cit.* p. 190.

16. "Sub isto Generali (Helia) magister Alexander de Alis habebatur insignis et famosus per orbem terrarum". *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, edit. in *Analecta Franc.* III, 218.

17. *Chartularium* I, 250, No. 230; Felder, *op. cit.* p. 188.

18. Cf. Felder, *op. cit.* p. 191.



of granting academic degrees, i.e. of conducting an "École publique." <sup>19</sup>

Whatever the exact date of Alexander's entrance into the Order of Friars Minor might have been, the fact that he did join the order, and continued to teach at the University of Paris, one of the most renowned of medieval institutions of learning, even after he had become a friar, was, says Turner,<sup>20</sup> "of the utmost importance both for the university and for the course of studies in the Franciscan Order." Most interesting, furthermore, is the fact that Alexander continued to teach *even as a novice*, not indeed at the university but within the cloister of the convent.<sup>21</sup> But this should not astonish us, says Felder, for there were other learned professors likewise who became religious and still continued, at the insistence of their hearers, to teach even during their novitiates. He quotes to the point the examples of Fr. Raoul of Colebruyes, also a former Master of Paris, who continued his course of studies while a novice at Oxford, and of the Dominican Jean de St. Egidie, who embraced the religious life about the same time as did Alexander, and yet continued to teach as a novice.<sup>22</sup> It is in this sense that we are to interpret the assertion of Roger Bacon when he says that just as soon as Alexander entered the Order of Friars Minor the friars confided to him the general care of studies in the Order, i.e. made him the Regent General of Studies.<sup>23</sup> The fame of Alexander of Hales, as a teacher, was so great at the time he entered the order that all Paris was running to hear him.<sup>24</sup> How indescribable the joy of the friars must have been at the sudden prestige given their humble friary, and the poor friars throughout the world, by the entrance of so famous a Doctor into their ranks, who now shared their home, their meals and habit, can easily be imagined. Roger Bacon describes it for us in these glowing terms:

19. Cf. Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., *Documented History of the Franciscan Order* (Milwaukee-Washington, 1944), p. 805.

20. *Cath. Encyc.* I, p. 298.

21. "Alexandre de Hales, fut contraint par ses auditeurs de continuer ses leçons et il transporta simplement son Ecole dans le cloître"! Felder, *op. cit.* p. 191.

22. *Études*, p. 190-1.

23. "Ex suo ingressu fratres — ei dederunt auctoritatem totius studii." (*Opus Minus*, ed. by Brewer) p. 326; Felder, p. 191, note 3.

24. "Quem cum esset in saeculo, tota Parisiensis Universitas sequebatur" *Chronica Fabrianensis*, in *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia* Vol. I (Quaracchi, 1882) Prolegom. p. LVI, col. 1,

Unde quum intravit ordinem fratrum Minorum, fuit de eo maximus rumor, non solum propter conditiones suas laudabiles, sed propter quod novus fuit ordo Minorum et neglectus a mundo illis temporibus, et ille edificavit mundum et ordinem exaltavit. Ex suo ingressu fratres et alii exultaverunt in coelum.<sup>25</sup>

It was undoubtedly due to the great fame of their new novice that the friars made him their *first* Regent of Studies, despite the fact that before his entrance into the Order it could already boast of other Masters such as Aymon of Faversham, the later Minister General,<sup>26</sup> Friar Simon, and Friar Bartholomew, the Englishman.<sup>27</sup> The Franciscan School at Oxford at that very time was already famous because it has as one of its teachers also a famous Master of a university, i.e. Robert Grosseteste, the later Bishop of Lincoln; likewise Adam Marsch.<sup>28</sup> The friars at Oxford always feared that one day Friar Adam would be taken from them to succeed Alexander at Paris.<sup>29</sup>

Aside from this, little more is known for certain concerning the life of Alexander of Hales.<sup>30</sup> Bartholomew of Pisa is authority for the assertion that on one occasion Alexander delivered a sermon before St. Clare at Assisi.<sup>31</sup> Possibly before he died (1245) he attended one or the other session of the Second Ecumenical Council convoked for that year at Lyons; it is likewise probable that, as Sbaraglea asserts, he was appointed by Pope Innocent IV (1243-54) to examine, in conjunction with three cardinals and three bishops, the life and miracles of St. Edmund of Canterbury.<sup>32</sup>

The title '*Doctor Irrefragabilis*' given him seems to have been derived from the Bull *De fontibus paradisi* of Alexander IV (1254-61), dated July 28, 1256,<sup>33</sup> in which the Supreme Pontiff, praising the *Summa* of Alexander, says that in it:

25. *Opus Minus*, l. c.; cf. Felder, *op. cit.* p. 191, note 5.

26. Cf. Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff.

27. Cf. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

28. Salimbene, *Chronica* (Edit. Parma), p. 306.

29. Cf. A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford, 1892), pp. 67, 137.

30. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

31. *Liber Conform.*, XVII, par. 4 in *Anal. Franc.* V, 144; cf. *ib.*, IV, 208.

32. Cf. Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

33. The Bull in question will be found in the *Summa Theologiae* published by the Franciscans at Quaracchi, 1924, Vol. I, p. VII; also in Felder's, *Histoire des Etudes*, *op. cit.* p. 219 ff.; in the *Bullarium Franciscanum* I, p. 151. Cf. Eubel, *Epitome Bull. Franc.* No. 884. Lampen (in *Lexikon* etc. I, p. 249) undoubtedly errs when he places the date of this Bull as Oct. 7, 1256. Both Eubel and Sbaraglea (*loc. cit.*) have July 28.

Sententiarum irrefragabilium ordinatae sunt acies ad obterrendam, veritatis pondere, contentiosae pervicaciam falsitatis.

According to the fifteenth century Register quoted above<sup>34</sup> and published by Brewer in his *Monumenta Franciscana*, Alexander died at Paris in 1245, towards the end of the octave of the feast of the Assumption. Some authors state that he died on the feastday itself;<sup>35</sup> others e.g. W. Lampen, in conformity with Brewer, on August 21.<sup>36</sup> All Paris, as well as the whole literary world, mourned his death. Jean de Garlande,<sup>37</sup> his colleague at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris, assures us that the sorrow his passing produced at the university was as profound as it was sincere, and that especially in the hearts of the older theologians. As delegate of the Bishop of Paris, the funeral Mass was chanted by one Odin in the presence of a great number of venerable prelates of the episcopal curia<sup>38</sup> and of Lyons, (where the Ecumenical Council was still in session). These latter had come to Paris to pay him last honors. Garlande assures us that the university in particular regretted to see pass from its midst "a man in whom profound humility vied with majestic grandeur; in whose morals, as in a beautiful setting, shone the jewel of purity; whose wisdom was comparable to a magnificent flower, which, transplanted from the sun of England, where it grew up, spread its perfume to Paris and became eventually the attraction of the universe."<sup>39</sup>

In the Paris manuscript (Bibl. Nation., cod. lat. 15327) the following reference to the epitaph inscribed on the tomb of Alexander is found:

In tumba que de directo distat per unam tumbam tantum ab introitu chori ecclesie fratrum Minorium Parisius scribuntur. In tabernaculo capitis ymmaginis sculpte in dicta tumba scribitur : HIC JACET FR. ALEXANDER

34. Cf. Note 11.

35. e.g. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 201; Jean de Garlande, etc.; Sbaraglia, *op. cit.*, p. 21; cf. Editors' Note on the margin.

36. *Lex. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, I, 249. Cf. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 195, note 6.

37. Cf. *Lexikon* etc. V, 499.

38. *Monumenta Franc.* I, 542. Cf. *Anal. Franc.* I, 266; Felder, *op. cit.*, 188, note 3.

39. *De Mysteriis Ecclesiae* as quoted by Felder *op. cit.*, p. 196, note 1.

DE HALES QUI OBIIT ANNO DNI MILLO. CCO. XLVO. XII KALL. SEPTEMBRIS. In circuitu dicte tumbe scribuntur hii versus :

Then follows the motto which opens this article.<sup>40</sup>

## 2 — ALEXANDER'S DISCIPLES.

The influence of Alexander of Hales at Paris was of the greatest importance for the whole history of higher learning in the Order of Friars Minor. Not only did his presence among the friars raise the standard of learning in the new community, but it likewise tended to attract the attention of the world to it. Among the famous Franciscan scholars who studied under him were St. Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio, the later Minister General of the Order (1257-1274), the "Seraphic Doctor,"<sup>41</sup> who calls Alexander "patrem et magistrum nostrum";<sup>42</sup> William of Ware, the master of John Duns Scotus;<sup>43</sup> John of Rochelle, the first Franciscan Doctor to receive the laurea from him;<sup>44</sup> Odo Rigaldus,<sup>45</sup> of the "Four Masters" *et alii*.<sup>46</sup> Another famous student of Alexander was the Premonstratensian, John de Roquinres. Although, according to Gerson, Alexander was the "Doctor Sancti Thomae"<sup>47</sup> and for that reason is frequently looked upon as the teacher of the Angelic Doctor, there are those who believe that the term need not necessarily be taken in its literal sense, i.e. that Thomas actually frequented the lecture hall where Alexander taught, but merely that Alexander's *Summa Theologiae* vitally influenced the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas.<sup>48</sup> While there is no direct evidence that Roger Bacon ever studied under Alexander,

40. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 190 and *ibid.* note 4. For another beautiful versicular "In Memoriam" by Jean de Garlande, cf. Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

41. cf. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg in Br.: Herder, 1930), I, 249-250; Sbaraglea, *Supplementus ad SS. op. cit.*, p. 15.

42. 2 Dist. 23, a. 2, q. 3. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 200 note 1.

43. Little, *op. cit.* p. 213.

44. Cf. William Turner, *History of Philosophy* (New York and Boston: Ginn and Co., 1929) p. 329; Little, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

45. *Annales Minorum* II, 419 (*ad ann.* 1236, No. XLIV); Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

46. Cf. Wadding, *Ann. Min.* II, 419 (*ad ann.* 1236, No. XVI).

47. Cf. Turner, *Hist. of Phil. op. cit.*, p. 329.

48. Turner, in *Cath. Encyc.*, I, 299a; Hurter, *op. cit.* II, 201. Sbaraglea however (l. c.) holds the opposite opinion on good authority, i.e. that Alexander actually taught Thomas at Paris. After all, "Doctor" from *docere* signifies *to teach*, not to serve as a model; furthermore, Gerson was Chancellor of the University of Paris and must have been acquainted with both its documents and its traditions.



he does say in one place that he saw Alexander with his own eyes.<sup>49</sup>

Due to the fact that Alexander himself was of English birth it is not surprising to learn that the greatest number of his first scholars at the University of Paris were Englishmen. They were in fact so numerous at that time at the university that they formed the largest group of any foreign or national section of students studying at Paris.<sup>50</sup>

### 3 — HIS INFLUENCE ON MEDIEVAL SCHOLASTICISM.

Roger Bacon, who was not any too friendly towards the scholastic system nor the courses medieval scholastics followed, was, nevertheless, constrained to recognize the prestige which such men as Alexander of Hales and St. Albert the Great (whom he intensely admired) brought to the Church of God in general and to the two Friar Orders in particular when he calls these scholars "two glorious moderns"<sup>51</sup> to whom the whole world was drawn because they possessed a truly fabulous authority. Alexander, in particular, the first Doctor of the Franciscan Order, was regarded already in his lifetime as the most learned savant of his age, and was quoted as an authority.<sup>52</sup>

Bernard of Bessa, Secretary to St. Bonaventure and author of the *Liber de Laudibus*, and Salimbene, the Chronicler, are most profuse in their praise of Alexander. To Bernard of Besse, the two greatest men of the century to become Franciscans were King John of Jerusalem, the defender of the Church, and Alexander of Hales, the greatest savant of his age in philosophy and theology.<sup>53</sup> According to Salimbene both King John and Alexander of Hales became the heroes of the Provençal epic in which they were hailed as mighty giants in both physical and intellectual combats against the enemies of Mother Church, the one a soldier, the other a scholar.<sup>54</sup>

49. *op. ined.*, p. 325; cf. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

50. *Liber Conform.* XVII, par. 2; cf. *Anal. Franc.*, V, 133, ff.

51. *Communium Naturalium Liber* 1, c. 3. Cf. Felder, *op. cit.* 197, Note 3.

52. "Nam vulgus credit quod omnia sciverunt, et eis adhaeret sicut angelis. Nam illi allegantur in disputationibus et lectionibus sicut auctores." *Opus Minus*, p. 327. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 197, note 6.

53. Cf. *Anal. Franc.* III, 685.

54. *Chronica*, p. 16. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 198, note 3.

Of the many books attributed to Alexander,<sup>55</sup> only two perhaps, the *Expositio in Regulam S. Francisci*, of which he was co-author, and the *Summa Theologiae* are certainly authentic.

The *Expositio in Regulam*, written by the "Four Masters," Alexander of Hales, John de la Rochelle (de Rupella), Robert of Basti (or La Bassé) and Richard (Rigaudus, Rigaldus, Odo Rigaldus),<sup>56</sup> was sent in 1242 to the General Chapter assembled at Bologna. It had been requested by the General Chapter of Montpellier, 1241. The remote occasion of the exposition was the fact that despite papal declarations given by Pope Gregory IX, certain Provincials, e.g. the Provincial of England, desired to see the Rule observed *ad litteram*, whereas others preferred further alterations and explanations to meet the exigencies of the times. The proximate occasion was the request of the General Chapter of Montpellier for an interpretation and explication of the Rule which would satisfy the consciences of the doubting friars. Although the *Expositio* of the Four Masters is a literal interpretation of the Rule, it does request declarations regarding poverty and the right of exercising dominion over movable things. The Parisian Doctors ask for declarations, not concessions. They condemn the privileges contained in the Briefs of Gregory IX, dated December 12, 1240 and June 19, 1241, wherein the Pope, for the first time, altered the provisions of the Rule, granting the Provincials, without first interviewing the General, the right of approving preachers and of receiving novices through delegates.

The second work of which Alexander is the author is his *Summa Theologiae*<sup>57</sup> which he began in 1231 at the request of Pope Innocent IV, but which he left unfinished. According to the Bull of Alexander IV (1254-61), *De fontibus paradisi*, dated July 28, 1256,<sup>58</sup> and addressed to the Provincial of France, Alexander had as the finisher of his work William of Middleton (Melitona; d. 1260 or 1261), Master of the Franciscan College at Cambridge.<sup>59</sup> Just what part the latter played in the final edition of Alexander's

55. Wadding, Luke, O.F.M., *Scriptores Ord. Min.* (Rome: Edit. Nardecchia, 1906) p. 10; Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, p. 14-21.

56. Cf. Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

57. Cf. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Sbaraglea, *op. cit.* p. 17.

58. Cf. note 33.

59. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 214, note 2; Wadding, *Ann. Min.* IV, p. 57; Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

Summa, both as a whole and as we have it today, is still a matter of controversy.<sup>60</sup>

In the division of his work Alexander follows Peter of Lombardy and the *Symbolum Lateranum*. As a writer Alexander is more speculative than mystical. Even in his Theology he treats also of purely philosophical questions and includes therein a treatise on such metaphysical topics as *de pulchro*. But, he is also an apologist and inveighs frequently against the errors of his days, e.g. those of the Manicheans as revived by the Albigensians; of Amalarich of Bena; and of David of Dinant. The *Summa* of Alexander of Hales must be looked upon as the first successful attempt at applying to speculative theology the philosophy of Aristotle.<sup>61</sup> But, besides Aristotle, Alexander studied Augustine. It is this combination of Aristotle and Augustine which makes for the glory of Alexander. Others later might have superseded him; but Alexander was the first to strive to reconcile both. Turner says very appropriately: "Alexander's psychology, while it is Peripatetic in its general trend, bears evidence of the influence of the Augustinian idea of the soul and its faculties;"<sup>62</sup> whereas Fr. Willibrord Lampen, O.F.M. declares: "The *Summa* of Alexander is based on St. Augustine, and was looked upon as such already in the thirteenth century. He transmitted to posterity the doctrines of Augustine, Anselm, and Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, without entirely excluding, however, the principles of Aristotle."<sup>63</sup>

Although the *Summa* cannot be looked upon as the finished product of Augustinianism, it does embrace the main features thereof. The fundamental idea of Alexander's synthesis is goodness (*bonitas*) as well in the divine processions of the Blessed Trinity as in the *opera ad extra*. But Alexander was not only well acquainted with the works of Augustine, Anselm, the "Victorines" (Hugh and Richard), but also with those of St. John Damascene, the pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory the Great, and other Latin and Greek Fathers

60. *Dict. de la Théol. Cath.* I, p. 776. The National Library in Paris possesses a Latin Codex (No. 15329) written in 1250. Many editions have appeared in print, e.g. Venice, 1475 (the third part only) and *ibid.* 1576; Nuremberg, 1481 and 1502; Pavia, 1481 and 1489; Lyons, 1515 ff; Cologne, 1622. The best and latest edition of the *Summa* is that published at Quaracchi, 1924 ff.

61. Cf. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 210; Turner, *Hist. of Phil.* p. 327.

62. *Hist. of Phil.* p. 328.

63. *Lex. f. Theol. u. Kirche* I, 250.

of the Church. He is fully conversant with the productions of the Greek and Arab philosophers,<sup>64</sup> and quotes from the Praepositinus of Cremona, from William of Auxerre, and from Philip the Chancellor. He follows the method of Peter of Lombardy and Abelard; but Peter Lombard did not quote Aristotle once, whereas Alexander quotes him in almost every *Quaestio*. Alexander is, furthermore, acquainted with the Arabian commentators of the Peripathetic, especially Avicenna, and, says Turner, thus "prepares the way for Albert, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and Duns Scotus for whom Aristotle was *the* philosopher."<sup>65</sup> Although his is not the first *Summa* because based on the summaries of other theologians who preceded him,<sup>66</sup> his is the first to make use of Aristotle's physical, metaphysical, and ethical, as well as logical treatises. Alexander's knowledge and use of the Peripatetics is all the more admirable because, according to Roger Bacon, at the time that Alexander was teaching the Arts, neither the treatises of Aristotle on Physics, nor on Metaphysics, nor even the Commentaries of Averroes on these works had as yet been translated into Latin.<sup>67</sup>

In *Metaphysics* Alexander teaches that human reason can arrive at a knowledge of the existence of God, but not at a complete knowledge of his essence. We can know *quia est*, but not *quid est*.<sup>68</sup> In enumerating the proofs of the existence of God, he lays stress on Augustine's from the need of an absolute truth, on St. Anselm's ontological argument, on Hugh of St. Victor's argument from consciousness, and on Aristotle's argument from causality.<sup>69</sup> He teaches that God is an *Actus purus* and the *causa exemplaris, efficiens* and *finalis* of all things. Everything else is composed of matter and form. His doctrine of the coextensiveness of matter with created being became one of the distinctive tenets of the older Franciscan School. His doctrine on the plurality of forms, the

64. "Se totum ad studium Parisiense tulit, Quo vel Socraticos, vel summos quosque Platonis Ingenio facile dexteriore praeit." cf. Gonzaga, *De Origine Serap. Religionis* (Rome, 1587) I, p. 126.

65. *Cath. Encyc.* I. 298.

66. Robert of Melun and Stephen Langton composed "Summas" already in the XII century.

67. Roger Bacon, *Opus Minus* edit. Brewer, p. 326; Felder, p. 193, note 3.

68. *Summa*, P. I. Q. II, Memb. 2, Art. 1.

69. Cf. Owen Bennet, O. F. M. Conv., *The Nature of Demonstrative Proof According to Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas* (Cath. University Diss. Washington, D. C., 1943).



independence of body and soul, the existence of an intelligible matter or potency in all spiritual creatures, and the Augustinian theory of Divine Illumination in knowledge have all become characteristic of this School.<sup>70</sup> Regarding Universals, Alexander teaches that they exist not only *ante rem* in the mind of God, but also *in re* as forms or essences which the active intellect abstracts. This is the conclusion likewise of Modern Realism.<sup>71</sup>

While Alexander's *Psychology* is Peripathetic in its general trend, it bears evidence of the Augustinian idea of the soul and its faculties. Thus in the enumeration of the faculties of the soul, he follows the traditional Augustinian division of the powers of the mind into *ratio*, which has for its object the external world; the *intellectus*, which has for its object created substances; and *intelligentia*, which has for its object the *rationes aeternae* and first principles.<sup>72</sup>

In the realm of *Revealed Theology* the *Theologorum Monarcha* is frequently quoted for the stand which he took on the following questions:

1) Alexander of Hales was one of the first to derive the power of granting indulgences from the *thesaurus ecclesiae*. He developed this beautiful doctrine in such a cogent manner that since his time it has been generally accepted by all theologians.<sup>73</sup>

2) Alexander was a great champion of the primacy of the papacy. When, at the Council of Constance in 1415, the Patriarch, John of Alexandria, defended the doctrine that the Pope was not subject to the General Council, thus putting to shame some of the Western Fathers who advocated the "Conciliar Theory," the learned prelate of the East was content to cite as his proof the authority of Alexander of Hales and his teaching on the matter.<sup>74</sup>

3) Impressed no less by the appeal of this "star of the East" than by the lucid elaborations of Alexander on the subject, the Fathers of the Council at Constance were not slow to quote the

70. Cf. *Encyc. Britannica* (Chicago, 1944) I, 575.

71. Cf. Turner in *Cath. Encyc.* I, 298 c-d.

72. Turner in *Hist. of Phil.* p. 328

73. Cf. Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, I, 15.

74. Cf. *Acta Concilii Constant.* (edit. Venice), col. 821 in *Appendice*, as quoted by Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Cf. Hefele *Conciliengeschichte* under "Council of Constance" and H. Schroeder, O.P., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St. Louis: Herder, 1937) p. 445, note 1.

"Doctor Irrefragabilis" in their condemnations of the heretical doctrines of John Hus.<sup>75</sup> They likewise, on the same authority, reproved the demands of the Hussites for laic Communion under both species. In a treatise of Maurice of Prague against James of Misna on the subject, Alexander is referred to as "ille famosus Doctor Alexander de Hales." John of Ragusa, O.P., at the Council of Basle (1433), likewise rebuked the demand for a double Communion for the laity by referring first and foremost to the doctrine of Alexander of Hales, whom he quotes as his main authority for the liceity and prudence of the Church in forbidding the otherwise ancient custom.<sup>76</sup>

When one takes all this into consideration, the reader will not be surprised to find Turner (the later Bishop of Buffalo) referring to Alexander of Hales as "one of the greatest scholastics";<sup>77</sup> Lampen calling him anew the "theologorum monarcha";<sup>78</sup> and Wadding asserting that he was "Philosophorum et Theologorum sui temporis vix cuiquam secundus."<sup>79</sup> He brought honor to England, for it is conceded that he "was one of the first English scholars and theologians to make his influence felt in Paris,"<sup>80</sup> and one of the first to shed the glory of learning on the Franciscan Order throughout the whole world; for which reason "merito inter praecipuos nostri Ordinis doctores numerari solet: nam et omnes tempore praecurrit, et sapientia superavit."<sup>81</sup> Thus in Alexander the great schools of Philosophy and Theology at two of the most famous centers of medieval learning, France and England, were united. The splendor that had come out of England to illuminate France and the rest of the world returned, as at an evening sunset, to cast its last resplendent rays of glory on the mother country.<sup>82</sup>

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75. *Concilium Constant. ed. cit.*, II, p. 39 in Append. ; Sbaraglea l. c. Denzinger-Umberg, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, § 627-689.

76. Cf. Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

77. *Cath. Encyc.*, I, 249.

78. *Lex. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, I, 249.

79. *Scriptores*, *ed. cit.*, p. 9.

80. *Encyc. Brit.*, *ed. cit.*, I, p. 575.

81. Wadding, *Scriptores*, *ed. cit.*, p. 9.

82. Cf. Hurter, *op. cit.* p. 199.

## THE SYSTEM OF METAPHYSICS OF ALEXANDER OF HALES

It seems that Metaphysics, the "queen of scholastic philosophy," has been unduly neglected by modern scholastics from the time of the great Suarez up to at least a few decades ago. We do not mean to say that her place of honor was not always recognized. On the contrary, many Neo-Scholastics have fought a valiant struggle to defend the very right to existence of this highest purely human speculative science. We have to be grateful to them for having saved at least the essential heritage of ancient times from the devastating flood of idealism, positivism and scientism. However, the Metaphysics which is usually taught in our textbooks shows many disfiguring marks of this struggle. It is especially defiled by adulterations of the very nature of genuine scholastic and Aristotelean Metaphysics, as a result of its cohabitation with rationalism of the type of Christian Wolff. Only within the last few decades have Neo-Scholastics earnestly endeavored to restore metaphysics to its former purity. Up to this time a more or less ingenious repetition of the remnants of the Metaphysics which stood the ordeal of rationalism had been repeated in textbooks of philosophy with tedious uniformity. As logic was corrupted by questionable additions since the time of the logic of Port-Royal, so Metaphysics was "enriched" with certain ideas and even principles — the worst of which is the so-called *principium rationis sufficientis*<sup>1</sup> — that are alien to genuine scholasticism. Worst of all, it was burdened with tasks for which it was never destined. A sign of this is the division of Metaphysics into a *Metaphysica generalis* and a *Metaphysica specialis*, the latter of which deals in part with topics which have nothing to do with Metaphysics in the scholastic sense.

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1. Cf. Jos. de Vries, S.J. Geschichtliches zum Streite um die metaphysischen Prinzipien, in *Scholastik* 6 (1931) 196-221.

If historical research in medieval philosophy is not to lapse into a desinterested inventory of historical facts, it must be undertaken for the sake of fertilizing philosophical thought. We do not intend, therefore, simply to represent here a curiosity of the past, but to present something which is worth living and being revived, although not as to every detail, yet certainly as to its important parts. We are presenting here an outline of the Metaphysics of the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales, called the *Summa Minorum*, for those philosophers, and especially the Franciscan, who, firmly based in their tradition, intend to help to bring back the Queen of Metaphysics to her ancient splendor and honor. Our outline will be necessarily brief, a wealth of information will simply be passed over, since even the outline itself is something deserving the attention of the historian as well as the metaphysician. Our contribution should not create the impression that everything has been said about the Metaphysics of the *Summa*, and that it can, therefore, dispense from a study of the text itself.

Before starting with our main topic, however, a few remarks are necessary as to the authenticity of the texts discussed. Our study is based essentially on the first part of the *Summa Theologica*,<sup>2</sup> which part in its entirety was written before 1245. Of the texts studied here a small part, *viz.* nn. 34-49 and nn. 56-71, seem to go back to John of Rupella (1245), as Pelster has maintained.<sup>3</sup> This deals with the immensity of God. Since we do not deny that much of the *Summa* was compiled from earlier and contemporary sources, we do not advocate its complete originality, although, perhaps, the general scheme of the Metaphysics of the *Summa* may be more original than some of its other parts. However, this question does not really matter now. Here we are interested in the heritage which was bequeathed through the *Summa* to the Franciscan tradition. To bring this venerable heritage to the attention of our readers will be at least one small contribution to the honor of that saintly man who in his old age joined the Friars and gave, by that fact, impetus to a new task of the Order for the benefit of the Church.

2. Our study is based on the edition of Quaracchi (1924), which will be quoted according to parts, numbers, volumes and pages.

3. Cf. Joh. Auer, "Textkritische Studien zur Gnadenehre des Alexander von Hales," in *Scholastik* 15 (1940) 63-75, espec. 63-64. There further references are found.



# I. THE PLACE OF AN AUTONOMOUS METAPHYSICS IN THE THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF THE "SUMMA MINORUM"

Alexander and his collaborators were theologians, not pure philosophers. Their aim was an all-embracing system of Christian thought, a *Summa Theologica*. Only secondarily, and in subordination to their main goal, did they deal with profane sciences and especially with philosophy. However, such a subordination by no means implied a subalternation of philosophy under theology, or a systematical dependence of philosophy on theology. As we shall see, the *Summa* makes the systematical distinction between philosophical and theological thought as clear as can be desired. On the other hand it remains true, that the concrete development of philosophy in the *Summa* can be understood only if seen in its proper surroundings, that is, within the general scheme of the *Summa* itself. Hence we proceed to acquaint ourselves with the ingenious scheme conceived by Alexander.

## 1. THE PLACE OF METAPHYSICS IN THE GENERAL SCHEME OF THE "SUMMA"

Alexander himself tells us how he conceived the great outlines of his *Summa*. In his introduction to the third book<sup>4</sup> he says:

The entire science of Christian belief comprehends the belief in and the understanding of the Creator, and the belief in and the understanding of the Savior... The belief in the Creator contains the cognition of the substance of the Creator and the cognition of the work of the Creator. The cognition of the substance of the Creator consists in the cognition of the divine unity and of the Blessed Trinity. The cognition of the work of the Creator consists in the cognition of the creation or formation of things...

The belief in and the understanding of the Savior concerns the person of the Savior and the work of salvation. The person of the Savior is the Son of God, Christ in two natures, in divinity and humanity... The work of salvation consists in the sacraments of salvation through grace in this life, and in the rewards of salvation through future glory.

As is evident from a comparison with the general outline of the *Book of Sentences*, the *Summa* follows Peter Lombard. But

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4. For the benefit of the reader, this precious document is also printed at the beginning of the first book in the Quaracchi edition.

this holds only for the four parts, inasmuch as the arrangement of the matter within each part differs considerably from that in the work of Peter Lombard. Now, Metaphysics finds its proper place in the first part of the *Summa*, though we meet, of course, with metaphysical discussions throughout the other parts as well, especially at the beginning of the second part. The first part or book (*De Deo uno et trino*) is divided into two parts:

- I. De unitate et Trinitate deitatis ordinata ad credulitatem cordis.
- II. De unitate et Trinitate deitatis ordinata ad confessionem oris.

Again, for a system of Metaphysics, we have to look in the first part, which is distinguished into two "inquisitions":

- I. Inquisitio: De substantia divinae unitatis.
- II. Inquisitio: De pluralitate divinae Trinitatis.

As is evident only the first "inquisition" can contain a Metaphysics developed on natural grounds. And in fact, here we meet what the *Summa Minorum* calls the *Theologia Philosophorum* or *Metaphysica* or *Prima Philosophia* or *Sapientia*. It is divided into six *tractates* which will be enumerated later. However, this first "inquisition," being part of a theological *Summa*, is not purely philosophical, as it is based on both faith and reason. Before going further, therefore, we have to ask whether the *Summa* distinguishes a natural science which is Metaphysics, from a supernatural science which is Theology.

## 2. DISTINCTION BETWEEN METAPHYSICS AND THEOLOGY

Contrary to the opinion of some historians of Medieval Philosophy the *Summa Minorum*, even in its oldest parts, contains a clear concept of philosophy in general, and of Metaphysics in particular, as a natural science which is distinct from theology. Already at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the days of a certain confusion between philosophy and theology were over. This confusion was due not so much to a mingling of the supernatural and natural order, as to a mingling of the terms. If Philosophy is love of wisdom, and if true wisdom is that which comes from

above by revelation, true Philosophy, undoubtedly, is the Christian religion, or the science of Christian faith and religion — Christian Theology. If we take into account, furthermore, that the philosophy of the Greeks was to a large extent a philosophical religion, we can understand that St. Paul and the early Christians — and even medieval thinkers before the thirteenth century — conceived either of two philosophies, the Christian philosophy and the pagan philosophy which are contrary to each other, or of one philosophy only, *viz.* the Christian philosophy as revealed in Christ. This last we would call Theology rather than Philosophy. For instance: to Tertullian, Christian revelation is the only philosophy to which pagan philosophy is in contradiction; and for Justin the Martyr Christian revelation is the only philosophy, and is at the same time the fulfillment of pagan philosophy. When St. Chrysostom speaks of our philosophy, he means Christian Theology or, at least, the Christian way of life. And Scotus Eriugena simply identifies true religion and true philosophy.

However, all these various ideas about philosophy and its relations to Faith did not favor a practical and clear distinction between the spheres of the natural and supernatural order, between reason and faith, which must be properly separated, or rather distinguished, in order to keep theology free from pagan adulterations, and philosophy free from fallacies. If human reason exists and if it is endowed by the Creator with a proper activity, the exercise of that activity within the sphere of natural speculation is a task and even a religious task. Hence, instead of absorbing one of the spheres in the other, or instead of divorcing the one from the other, the Christian thinker has the task of distinguishing each sphere clearly and of putting everything in its right place: the result is order. This order was finally achieved by the medieval schoolmen. Without maintaining that the *Summa Minorum* is the first medieval work which draws the classical distinction between Theology and Philosophy, we are certainly warranted in stating that it made this distinction as clear and plain as could be desired. It is needless to say that the *Summa* is opposed to a divorce of philosophy from theology. Since we are at present only interested in the distinction, let us but ask the *Summa*, how philosophy (usually metaphysics) is distinct from theology. It answers:

(a) Theology and Philosophy (Metaphysics) are distinct in their different objects.

The *Summa Minorum* distinguishes two objects, or matters, of a science: the object or matter "around which" (*circa quam*) and the object or matter "of which" (*de qua*). The object "around which" regards every thing about which a science makes statements, and with which it is in a general way concerned. The object "of which" regards that thing, or those things, of which a science makes statements and with which it is in a special way concerned. Now, the "matter around which" of Theology is all things and signs, that is, every natural and supernatural reality, or more definitely, all things, including the sacraments. The "matter around which" of Metaphysics is all things only, since it concerns being as regards every difference of being and its divisions, the supernatural being, or the sacraments, excluded. The object "around which" of theology, therefore, has a larger comprehension than that of Metaphysics. The "matter of which" of theology is the divine substance as revealed in Christ in his work of redemption. The "matter of which" of Metaphysics, on the other hand, is this same divine substance, but conceived as the "Ens actu unum," or as the first substance on which all things are dependent.<sup>5</sup> As regards the special objects of theology and Metaphysics we could say that, according to the *Summa*, theology deals with God as revealed in Christ, and that means God as first and independent substance. Theology deals with God as Redeemer, Metaphysics with God as Creator.

(b) Theology and Philosophy (Metaphysics) are distinct in their bases for cognition and certitude.

Some truths are known by natural reason, and others by faith. Every natural, that is, human, knowledge is acquired either by discovery or instruction. Theological truth and theology in general are not acquired, but inspired, at least in so far as their origin is

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5. ...dicendum quod res et signa sunt materia circa quam est sacra Scriptura, non materia de qua est... Materia vero de qua est sacra Scriptura est divina substantia cognoscenda per Christum in opere reparationis. Quemadmodum est dicere de Philosophia Prima quod materia circa quam est sunt omnia — unde et dicitur esse de omnibus, quia est circa ens secundum omnem sui differentiam, secundum differentes divisiones entis, scilicet ens potentia, ens actu, ens unum et multa, ens substantia et accedens, et huiusmodi — materia vero de qua intentio, est ens actu unum, quod est substantia prima, a qua omnia dependent... I, n.3, ad3.; t.I, p.6.



concerned, *viz.* revelation.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, all the human sciences are based on the testimony of creatures, as it is from creatures that experience is obtained, which, as the Philosopher remarks, is the basis of science in turn. Theology, however, is based in the testimony of faith, for Isaias says: "If you do not believe, you shall not understand."<sup>7</sup>

The distinction between knowledge based on experience and reason,<sup>8</sup> and knowledge based on faith, or between Philosophy and Theology, is made even clearer by the *Summa* in distinguishing the different bases of cognition and certitude as regards truths which are at the same time naturally known and supernaturally revealed. In case such a truth is known by natural reason, we give our assent to it by the testimony which is in us, *viz.* reason itself through which our intellect is forced to this assent. If this truth is known also by faith, we give our assent to it, not because of our own testimony, but by the testimony of another, *viz.* of God, or the First Truth.<sup>9</sup>

Though certain truths of faith can be known by natural reason, others escape completely the reach of human, natural power. This is especially the case with many truths concerning God. We can know by natural reason that God is eternal, without beginning and end, that God is creator, etc., but we know only by faith and not by natural reason, what God's substance is, the trinitarian process, etc.<sup>10</sup>

6. Omnis humana scientia est acquisita per inventionem vel doctrinam; sed theologica disciplina est inspirata, non acquisita, quantum ad editionem. I, n.2, a; t.I, p.4.

7. Item, omnes humanae scientiae fundantur super testimonium creaturae, ex quo colligitur experimentum, sicut dicit Philosophus in *Metaphysicis*...; sed theologica doctrina fundatur super testimonium fidei... I. c. b.

8. Cf.: Omnes aliae scientiae traduntur secundum ordinem ratiocinationis a principiis ad conclusiones, quibus doceatur intellectus, non moveatur affectus... I. c. f.; p.5.

9. Ad primo ergo obiectum dicendum, quod, quamvis credenda cognoscantur per naturalem rationem et per fidem, tamen aliter et aliter. Nam in cognitione quam habemus de credendis per naturalem rationem, acquiescimus ipsi veritati propter testimonium proprium quod in nobis habemus, scilicet ipsam rationem qua cogitur intellectus; in cognitione vero per fidem acquiescimus ipsi veritati non propter testimonium proprium, sed alienum, scilicet divinum seu primae veritatis. I, n.23, ad 1; t.I, p.34.

10. Nota igitur ad solutionem praesentis quaestionis ex hac sententia Damasceni quod quaedam sunt quae de Deo accipiuntur per naturalem rationem, ut quoniam aeternus, sine principio, sine fine, quoniam omnium creator et huiusmodi... Quaedam vero sunt quae accipimus de Deo per solam fidem, non per rationem, nisi lumine fidei adiutam, ut scilicet quid Dei substantia, qualiter Deus ex Deo genitus, qualiter humanatus... I, n.333; t.I, p.493 a.

From all this it follows that the *Summa Minorum* clearly distinguishes truth which is obtained only by natural reason and truth which is obtained only through faith.

(c) Theology and Philosophy (Metaphysics) are distinguished in their methods and goal.

Theology and Philosophy, being based on different principles, proceed, therefore, in different ways towards different goals. The philosophical, or natural, sciences start with principles of truth which are known by themselves, or in their terms, and so far as their truth and only their truth is concerned. Theology, however, starts with principles of truth, which are not known by themselves but by revelation, and uses them so far as their goodness as goodness is concerned, that is, so far as their goodness concerns either moral life or grace. Hence, whilst the former develops more into a science or art, the latter develops into true wisdom and a virtuous life, and not so much into a science as science. Theology, therefore, does not concern itself so much with speculation and accumulation of knowledge: its aim is rather the power and efficacy of life; it is not so much talk about, but rather the realization of true religious life.<sup>11</sup> Hence Alexander does not consider a student of Theology a real theologian, that is, a man who is in possession of wisdom in its proper sense, if he does not realize the truth known to him and if he does not live according to his theory. A theologian who has only theological knowledge and not a life corresponding to this has only a science. If his knowledge about God is, furthermore, only truth as truth, then he does not possess wisdom, since wisdom is knowledge, or truth, as goodness. Hence, so far as the goal of theology is concerned, he would be on the same level as the philosopher.<sup>12</sup>

11. Ad secundum dicendum quod sunt principia veritatis ut veritatis, et sunt principia veritatis ut bonitatis. Dico ergo quod aliae scientiae procedunt ex principiis veritatis ut veritatis per se notis; haec autem scientia procedit ex principiis veritatis ut bonitatis et per se notis ut bonitatis, quamvis occultis ut veritatis. Unde haec scientia magis est virtutis quam artis, et sapientia magis quam scientia; magis enim consistit in virtute et efficacia quam in contemplatione et notitia... I, n.5 ad 2; t.I, p.9.

12. Quod concedendum est, si fiat vis in verbo sapientiae. Possum enim considerare divinam veritatem ut veritatem vel divinam veritatem ut bonitatem; idem enim verum et bonum, sed differunt in consideratione... Dicendum ergo quod mala anima potest habere notitiam divinae veritatis ut est veritas, sed non notitiam divinae veritatis ut est bonitas; unde mali sunt in perceptione scientiae Dei, sed non sapientiae, ut patet de philosophis, Rom. 1, 21: Qui cum cognovissent Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt etc. I, n.458; t.I, p.653.

Since philosophy is concerned with truth only as truth and the delight one gets from speculating on truth, whilst Theology aims at the realization of true religious life by the consideration of truth as goodness, their respective methods must likewise be different:

Alius est modus scientiae, qui est secundum comprehensionem veritatis per humanam rationem; alius est modus scientiae secundum affectum pietatis per divinam traditionem.<sup>13</sup>

The human sciences proceed by the method of definition, division, and inference (*modus definitivus, divisivus, collectivus*<sup>14</sup>). However, the method of theology is, to use a modern word, rather kerygmatic, since its aim is not so much to inform the intellect in order to know truth as such, but to inform the heart (*affectum*) as regards piety. From this it follows that theology must give precepts, must adduce examples, must inspire by exhortations, must give revelation and also introduce prayer (*modus praeceptivus, exemplificativus, exhortativus, revelativus, orativus*):<sup>15</sup>

(d) Theology and Philosophy (Metaphysics) are distinct in their certitude.

Because Theology and Philosophy start from different bases and proceed by different methods, their certitude as regards their respective truths must be different also. The *Summa Minorum* distinguishes different viewpoints which serve to clarify the problem. If we consider simply the truth and the certitude we obtain by our philosophical method, that is, *certitudo speculationis*, that of the philosophical sciences is greater than that of faith. However, if we consider the truth as something in which the heart is interested as well as the understanding, that is, if we consider the *certitudo affectionis*, faith has undoubtedly a greater certitude than the philosophical sciences.<sup>16</sup>

Underlying this difference as to certitude is, it appears, the distinction between evidence and assent. As to assent, theology has a greater certitude:

13. I, 4, ad 2; t.I, p.8.

14. That means "syllogisticus."

15. I.e. As to the difference between secular and sacred history see I, n.1, ad 1; t.I, p.2.

16. ... fides certior est intellectu aliarum scientiarum certitudine affectionis, non certitudine speculationis. I, n.5, ad 1; t.I, p.9; cfr. the objections.

More certain is the mode of knowing by inspiration than by human reasoning; furthermore, more certain is that which is known by the testimony of the Spirit, than that which is known by the testimony of creatures; furthermore, more certain is that which is known in the manner of tasting than that which is known in the manner of seeing. Since, therefore, the mode of Sacred Scripture is the mode of knowing by inspiration, by the testimony of the Spirit in the manner of tasting, and, on the other hand, the mode of knowing in the other sciences is by reasoning, by the testimony of creatures and in the manner of seeing, it is manifest that the mode of knowing is more certain in theology than in the other sciences.<sup>17</sup>

But the case does not rest here. For, as to evidence, the certitude is greater in the other sciences:

There is a certitude of speculation and there is a certitude of experience; furthermore, there is a certitude according to the intellect and a certitude according to the affect; again, there is a certitude as regards a spiritual mind, and a certitude as regards an animal mind. I say, therefore, the theological mode is more certain by the certitude of experience, by the certitude according to the affect, which is in the manner of tasting... not, however, more certain as regards speculation of the intellect, which is in the manner of seeing. Again, it is more certain for a spiritual man, though it is less certain for an earthly man...<sup>18</sup>

The following scheme may bring out the clear distinction made by the *Summa* between Philosophy, including and emphasizing Metaphysics, on the one side, and Theology on the other side:

Theology	Philosophy
As to the object: <i>Res</i> and <i>signa</i> (sacraments).	Only <i>res</i> .
As to the basis: Testimony of faith.	Testimony of creatures: reason and experience.
As to the method: Kerygmatic.	Rational.
As to certitude: Greater as to assent. Less as to evidence.	Less as to assent. Greater as to evidence.

Let us now, with the *Summa*, summarize the preceding in a beautiful passage which should be the common property of all Franciscan theologians:

Sacred doctrine is called divine or theological, because it is from God, about God and leading to God. 'From God': while this is true for the other sciences, for Sacred Scripture, however, it is true not (only) in this (general)

17. I.c. Contra: a.

18. I.c. Respondeo.



sense. For there is truth as truth and there is truth as goodness; both are from the Holy Spirit. But, when truth is taken as goodness, this goodness is either moral goodness or gratuitous goodness. Taken as gratuitous goodness, it is thus an assimilation to the Holy Spirit, Who is Goodness; and hence it is received from the Holy Spirit through His manner. Hence by way of antonomasia it is called: 'Given by the Holy Ghost.' In the other sciences, however, *viz.* in the speculative ones, truth is taken as truth, and also goodness as truth; and, even though in the practical, moral sciences, truth is taken as goodness, it is not, however, taken as gratuitous goodness, but only as moral goodness; and for that reason they are not said to be given by the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, this science is said to be 'about God,' and that in a different way than the other sciences, for instance First Philosophy which does not deal with God as regards the mystery of the Trinity, or as regards the mystery of human reparation. Furthermore, it is 'leading to God' through the principle of fear and love through faith in the justice and mercy of God. This does not apply to any of the other sciences.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. METAPHYSICS AS NATURAL WISDOM AND THEOLOGIC <sup>20</sup>

The Christian theologians were confronted with the contention of the Greek philosophers that Metaphysics is true wisdom. They could not admit this, at least in an unqualified sense. This was not a quarrel about words nor a question of nomenclature. On the contrary, it illustrates the passing away of a "Philosophy of life" (or of a philosophical religion) which had to give way to a 'theology of life.' Both the pagans and the Christians agree that wisdom is the highest perfection of the human mind. At the basis of this dispute lay the problem: Can natural speculation on the highest cause be the highest perfection, or is supernatural speculation, based on revelation and grace, the highest perfection? It was obvious, that the Christian theologians claimed the title of wisdom for their theology and jealously guarded it. The *Summa Minorum* is no exception.

19. I, n.2, ad objecta; t.I, p.5.

20. We have adopted this truly Aristotelian name from Fr. Pacificus Borgmann, O.F.M., "Gegenstand, Erfahrungsgrundlage und Methode der Metaphysik," in *Franziskanische Studien* 21 (1934) 88 (note 11), who justifies this name by reference to Aristotle *Metaph.* E 1, 1026a 19.

Fr. Borgmann justly remarks that we are in a similar situation as Aristotle. Aristotle called the theological and cosmogonical speculations of the poets theology, and in distinction from it his own rational and purely philosophical approach theologic.

## (a) Wisdom.

Wisdom is defined as knowledge with delight: *Sapientia enim, secundum quod proprie dicitur, dicit cognitionem cum delectatione.*<sup>21</sup> This definition needs further clarification. As is obvious, the notion of science or knowledge enters the idea of wisdom. This knowledge must be of the highest object, of the cause of causes, of God. For this reason wisdom must be for its own end and cannot serve as a means for another science. In other words it is not subalternated to any other science, it is *sui gratia*. As to all these three aspects Metaphysics and theology are similar, for both are sciences, both deal with the cause of causes and both are independent of other sciences while other sciences are dependent on them, and both are in addition transcendent sciences.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, Theology and Metaphysics, as we heard before, are dissimilar in certain essential characteristics and especially in their end. Here we have to introduce again our distinction previously explained: There is a science which perfects cognition as to truth, and there is also a science which moves the *affect* towards goodness. The first could be compared with cognition by vision, the second with cognition by tasting. Hence the first must be called "absolute science" as truth and the vision of truth is all it seeks; the second, however, goes further, and has to be called wisdom, as truth and vision are not enough for it since it longs to taste the truth.<sup>23</sup>

From this it follows that Theology, which perfects the soul as to its *affect* by moving it towards goodness through the principles of fear and love, is properly and principally wisdom. First Philosophy, however, or the Theology of the philosophers, which also deals with the cause of causes, but so far as it perfects cognition

21. I, n.456; t.I, p.652b.

22. Primo notandum quod est scientia causae et scientia causati. Scientia vero causae causarum est sui gratia; scientia vero causatorum, sive sint causae sive effectus tantum, non est sui gratia, quia referuntur et dependent a causa causarum. Hinc est quod Theologia, quae est scientia de Deo, qui est causa causarum, sui gratia est. Nomen ergo scientiae appropriatur scientiae causatorum, nomen vero sapientiae scientiae causae causarum. Unde et ipse Philosophus dicit quod Philosophia Prima, quae est sui gratia et de causa causarum, debet dici sapientia. Simili ratione doctrina theologica, quae transcendit omnes alias scientias, debet dici sapientia... I, n.1; t.I, p.2.

23. Prima est ut cognitio secundum visum, et ideo debet dici scientia absoluta; secunda, ut cognitio secundum gustum, et ideo debet dici sapientia a sapore affectionis, secundum quod dicitur Eccli. 6, 23: Sapientia secundum suum nomen est. l.c. 2b

according to methodical reasoning, is less properly called wisdom. The rest of the sciences cannot be called wisdom at all; they are but sciences, since they deal only with secondary causes and effects.<sup>24</sup>

From this the *Summa Minorum* obtains a hierarchy of all the sciences in reference to wisdom. Theology is wisdom as wisdom; Metaphysics is wisdom as science; the other sciences are sciences as sciences only.<sup>25</sup>

### (b) Metaphysics as Theologic.

According to the *Summa Minorum*, Metaphysics, or First Philosophy, is the Theology of the philosophers. Its subject is the cause of causes known by methodical reasoning:

Prima philosophia, quae est theologia philosophorum, quae est de causa causarum, sed ut perficiens cognitionem secundum viam artis et rationis.<sup>26</sup>

This first cause, however, unfolds itself in the unity of different causes, which are Goodness, Wisdom and Power:

Philosophia vero prima, quae est cognitio primarum causarum, quae sunt bonitas, sapientia et potentia.<sup>27</sup>

Hence Metaphysics is the science of God and of the attributes of God, and since Metaphysics like all the philosophical sciences is a natural cognition distinct from Theology, it is a science of God obtained by natural reason. In one word, according to the *Summa Minorum*, Metaphysics is Theologic.

However, this Theologic is at the same time Ontology, if we are allowed to use this modern expression for the Metaphysics of the 13th century.<sup>28</sup> In order to show this, let us go back to a text

24. l.c.

25. Unde secundum hoc dicendum quod doctrina Theologiae est sapientia ut sapientia; Philosophia vero Prima quae est cognitio primarum causarum, quae sunt bonitas, sapientia et potentia, est sapientia, sed ut scientia; ceterae vero scientiae, quae considerant passiones de subiecto per suas causas, sunt scientiae ut scientiae. l.c.

26. I, n.1; t.I, p.2b.

27. l.c.

28. It is not correct to say that "Ontology" was "introduced as a term by Wolff"; thus James F. Feibleman in *The Dictionary of Philosophy* edited by Dagobert D. Runes (New York: Philosophical Library, 1942) p.219. The Cartesian Philosopher J. Clauberg (1625-1665) and Du Hamel (1624-1706) already used this term. Cf. P. Géný, *Questions d'enseignement de philosophie scholastique*, Paris (1913), p.48, note 1.

which we already used in part. Metaphysics like Theology has a "matter around which", and this "matter around which" comprises all things, every being. In this sense Metaphysics is the science of being and considers every predicate and every division of being, as for instance 'being in potency and being in act,' 'being one and being many,' 'being substance and being accident,' and others. Understood in this sense, Metaphysics is a theory of all the predicates that can be predicated about every thing. But Metaphysics like Theology has also a "matter of which," that is, it has an object towards which Metaphysics tends, and this "matter of which" is the one being that is God, the "ens actu unum," the first substance on which all things depend. Understood in this sense, Metaphysics is Theologic.<sup>29</sup>

By this declaration the *Summa Minorum* solves a great difficulty inherent in the idea of Metaphysics, a difficulty caused by the unfinished state of this science as left by Aristotle, and by the heterogeneity of the parts of the "Metaphysics" of Aristotle in which books of various stages of the Stagirite's development — and even of other sciences than First Philosophy — are united. In the collection of tracts called the *Metaphysics of Aristotle*, we find that the science which he is seeking, is both a general and a special one, deals with being as being and with unchangeable separate substances, is ultimate and first in the hierarchy of the sciences, rests on its own basis and, nevertheless, is an integral part of his Astrophysics, and is, finally, pure and inductive Metaphysics.<sup>30</sup> We

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29. Quemadmodum est dicere de Philosophia Prima quod materia circa quam est sunt omnia — unde et dicitur esse de omnibus, quia est circa ens secundum omnem sui differentiam, secundum differentes divisiones entis, scilicet ens potentia, ens actu, ens unum et multa, ens substantia et accidens, et huiusmodi — materia vero de qua intentio, est ens actu unum, quod est substantia prima, a qua omnia dependent... I, n.3, ad 3; t.I, p.7.

30. Cfr. Pacificus Borgmann, O.F.M. art. cit. (note 20) p.99. See more references there to Natorp, Zeller and Jäger. The conclusion of Jäger is that Aristotle betrayed Metaphysics to the special sciences at the end of his career. Cf. W. Jäger, *Aristotle, Fundamentals of his development*, translated by R. Robinson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1934), XIII and XV. If it is necessary to discover the origin of modern scientism before the time of the Renaissance, one should not overlook the possibilities given in Aristotle's writings. The problem is, however, more intricate because Aristotle's Physics, which, though conceived by its author as Second Philosophy, nevertheless, is a strange mixture of first and second philosophy. Unfortunately, many Neo-Scholastics have not yet reached the purity of distinction between Metaphysics and Physics made by the classical scholastics. To those scholastics a metaphysical Physics, or cosmology as one part of Special Metaphysics, would have appeared strange, to say the least. J. Gredt, O.S.B., *Elementa Philosophiae Aristotelico-Thomisticae*, (Ed. 7a, Friburgi, 1937), II, 2 is a noteworthy exception.



do not say that all these views are necessarily incompatible. Aristotle himself has seen that at least some of them can be reconciled. The view on Metaphysics which was to become classical and which is also adopted by the *Summa* is expressed in the following lines (Met. E 1026 a 23-32):

Someone may doubt whether the First Philosophy is general or about some genus and one nature. (we answer): if there is no other substance besides those constituted by nature, then Physics would be the first science; if, however, there is an immutable substance, then (the science of) this must be the primary (science) and must be First Philosophy; and it is general, since it is first: its task would be to study being as being, what it is, and its properties as being.

However, in spite of this not too clear statement, the Metaphysics of Aristotle suffers under its heterogeneous tasks, and neither his Metaphysics nor his Physics is pure.<sup>31</sup>

For the *Summa Minorum*, on the other hand, it is clear and will become clearer in the course of our explanations that Metaphysics is concerned with a theory of being which culminates, so far as it does culminate, in the cognition of God. Aristotelean Physics and especially Astrophysics have no part to play in the Metaphysics. For this reason alone Alexander could be considered an outstanding Metaphysician who had succeeded in assigning a clear and definite task to Metaphysics and thus has saved it from the danger of losing itself in vagueness and insecurity. We do not believe that the author of the *Summa* already felt the problem presented to the Middle Ages in the opposition between Avicenna and Averroes about the subject of Metaphysics, since the debate over their divergence — Avicenna assigning being as such as the subject of Metaphysics, while Averroes assigns God and the Inteligences as the subject of Metaphysics — took place much later. Scotus, undoubtedly, was under the influence of this debate. He sided with Avicenna on this point at least.<sup>32</sup> Only apparently is the Doctor Subtilis in disagreement with the Doctor Irrefragabilis,

31. Cf. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Metaphysics. A revised text with Introduction and Commentary*, (Oxford 1924), I, lxxviii ss. Cf. also Jäger, *op. cit.* p. 217 ff.

32. Cf. *Quaest. Subtil. in Metaphysicam* vi, q.4, n.3; ed. Vivès t.7, p.349a. Cf. also as regards this problem Et. Gilson, "Avicenne et le point de départ de Duns Scot" in *Archives d'Hist. doctr. et litt. du M.A.*, 2 (1927), 89-149.

and only apparently is the Doctor Irrefragabilis in agreement with Averroes, for like the Doctor Subtilis the Doctor Irrefragabilis is under Avicennian influence, and hence does not assign to Physics the task of proving the existence of God. Duns Scotus aims at exactly the same goal as the *Summa* does. Speaking in the terms of the *Summa*, we could say according to the Doctor Subtilis, that the "matter around which" Metaphysics turns is the transcendentals. For we read at the very end of his prologue to the *Quaestiones Subtilissimae super libros Metaphysicae Aristotelis*:

Sed loquimur de 'materia circa quam' est scientia, quae dicitur a quibusdam subiectum scientiae, vel magis proprie obiectum, sicut et illud circa quod est virtus dicitur obiectum virtutis proprie, non subiectum. De isto autem obiecto huius scientiae ostensum est prius, quod haec scientia est circa transcendentia. Ostensum est enim quod est circa altissimas causas.

But the object towards which Metaphysics tends — the 'matter of which' — is certainly God according to Scotus since his Metaphysics culminates in the natural cognition of God. Thus we see that for each, the founder of the Franciscan school at Paris and the most prominent doctor of the Franciscan school of Oxford, Metaphysics has the task of proving the existence of God and His first attributes on metaphysical grounds, that is on the basis of the transcendentals, and in disregard of Physics. Hence each shares in the ideal of an independent metaphysics which is Theologic.

After these preliminary discussions we are now able to show how, according to the *Summa Minorum*, such a Metaphysics can be developed. We shall only briefly touch on the problem of the cognoscibility of God and then present the great outlines of the Metaphysics of the *Summa Minorum* with a few important details.

## II. THE GENERAL SCHEME OF THE METAPHYSICS OF THE "SUMMA MINORUM"

Before developing a Metaphysics which is Theologic, we must be conscious of the limits of such a science. Metaphysics does not deal with God in His Trinity, but only with God in His unity. Furthermore, Metaphysics is not able to reach God in His

substantiality and immensity themselves; in other words, it does not show us what God really is, considered in Himself, but it only reaches a cognition *that* God is, that He is infinite, immense, simple, etc.:

Dicendum ergo, quod cognitio de Deo *quia est* potest haberi per naturalem rationem, sed cognitio *quid est*, non.<sup>33</sup>

From this it follows (since the *Summa Minorum* uses an Aristotelean language) that neither an immediate apprehension of God nor a deductive approach to God is possible to us, at least in the present life and without the special grace of God.<sup>34</sup> We have to prove God and His attributes *a posteriori*, starting with creatures:

Relinquitur ergo quod non cognoscitur in praesenti Deus nisi per similitudines creaturarum.<sup>35</sup>

However, the *Summa* considers not only creatures of the material world as the appropriate starting-point, but, likewise, creatures of the inner world of man, that is, of the image of God, our soul.<sup>36</sup>

We have, therefore, knowledge of God by the help of creatures, *a posteriori*, or in the effects of God. But this knowledge is not, as we have heard, a *cognitio quid est*, an absolute one, that is, a cognition of the substance of God in itself; but only a relative one, that is, of God's relation to creatures, thus essentially privative or analogical. In this manner we know God only as that substance

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33. I, n.14; t.I, p.24. Cf. I, n.9; t.I, p.17: Dicendum quod est cognitio de Deo per modum positionis et per modum privationis. Per modum privationis cognoscimus de Deo quid non est; per modum positionis cognoscimus quid est. Divina ergo substantia in sua immensitate non est cognoscibilis ab anima rationali cognitione positiva, sed est cognoscibilis cognitione privativa. Cf. also l.c. ad 3.

34. Cf. I, n.8, ad 1; t.I, p.16, where the *Summa* distinguishes between a visibility by nature (or necessity) and a visibility by will (that is, by the will of God, or by grace).

35. I, n.20, contra a; t.I, p.30.

36. Cf. II, n.20, ad. 3; t.I, p.31: Secundum vero quod natura dicitur dispositio substantiae, sic non est inconveniens dispositionem aliquam esse ex parte mentis ad videndum Deum, ut utatur ibi se ipsa sicut imagine quadam ad videndum Deum, vel etiam speciebus aliis intelligibilibus.

which is at the two extremities of created being. For God can be considered either in the fullness of His being in Himself, and so God, the ocean of substance (*pelagus substantiae*<sup>37</sup>), escapes the reach of natural reason, or God can be considered as the beginning and end of all creatures, as their Alpha and Omega. Only as the beginning, the Alpha, that is, as the efficient cause and as the end, the Omega, that is, as the final cause, which are the extremities of creatures, is God accessible to us:

Isto secundo modo consideratur inquantum finiens creaturam: a parte ante, inquantum est causa efficiens, et a parte post, ut causa finalis; et sic est accipere aliquam habitudinem finiti ad infinitum, non ut est in se, sed ut est finiens.<sup>38</sup>

Hence we do not first reach God in His absolute attributes; we first reach Him in His relative attributes, *viz.* through the relations of creatures to God.

Our actual cognition of God is developed by the *Summa Minorum* in a series of steps which reveals an ingenious scheme of Metaphysics as the Theology of the Philosophers. Of course, the *Summa* does not dispense with the help of revelation in the elaboration of our knowledge of God considered in His unity. However, it is remarkable how much the *Summa* relies in this part on natural reasons rather than on authorities from revelation. Hence we are allowed to speak of a Metaphysics in the sense of Theologic. This is developed in six Tractates. In the following outline, we intend to present as faithfully as possible the plan of the *Summa* itself. It is impossible here to discuss the greater part of the problems even in a condensed form. We shall therefore, acquaint the reader only with the detailed division of each Tractate — in an almost literal translation of the headings used by the *Summa* — before we draw the attention to a few teachings of major importance.

37. This famous, and often quoted expression, comes to the scholastics through Damascene from Gregory of Nazianzen. Cf. Orat.38, n.7; PG. t.36, col.317B and Orat.45, n.3; col.624 C.

38. I, n.21, ad 2; t.I, p.32.



# I. TRACTATE: ON THE "ESSENTIALITAS,"<sup>39</sup> IMMUTABILITY, AND SIMPLICITY OF GOD.

This first tract is divided into three questions and their subdivisions<sup>40</sup> as follows:

## I. Question: On the "Essentialitas" of the divine substance.

1. Chapter: That it is necessary that the divine substance exists.
2. Chapter: That it cannot be thought that God does not exist.
  1. Article: Whether it is necessary that the divine essence is so known that it cannot be thought not to exist?
  2. Article: Whether it is proper only to the divine "essentialitas" that it cannot be thought not to exist?

## II. Question: On the immutability of the divine essence.

1. Chapter: Whether the divine essence is thoroughly immutable?
2. Chapter: Whether it belongs to the divine essence in some manner to be immutable?
3. Chapter: Whether it is proper to the divine essence only to be immutable?

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39. The terminology of the *Summa* creates certain difficulties. We understand "essentialitas" in the sense of the reality which is God which precedes our determinations through the help of concepts. It must not be identified with the notion of "essentia" or "existentia". For the distinction between "essentia" and "essentialitas" see I, n.346; t.I, p.514: Hoc nomen 'essentia' si intelligatur communiter, non est proprium nomen Dei, immo extenditur secundum analogiam, sicut ens et esse, ad creaturas. Si vero intelligatur cum praecisione vel privatione eius quod est "ab alio" vel ens mutabile, efficitur proprium nomen divinae essentialitatis: 'essentia' enim nominat essentialitatem nullo addito. Si ergo cum hac praecisione nominet essentialitatem ut scilicet 'essentia' dicat essentialitatem cui nihil additur vel componitur, sed est omnino simplex, hoc modo proprium est nomen Dei. Item, 'essentia' significat essentialitatem ut se ipso ens; si ergo cum privatione intelligatur essentialitas ut se ipso ens, non alio, hoc modo proprium nomen est divinae essentialitatis...

In order to prevent a further confusion into which some scholars have fallen, let us state once and for all that the *Summa* does not understand the Boethian distinction in 'quo est' and 'quod est' in the sense of the distinction between essence and existence. Both essence and existence belong to the 'quo est'; the expressions 'ens' and 'qui est', belong to the 'quod est', viz. to the concrete thing which has, or is, an essence. Cf. the introduction to Quaestio I (n.345); t.I, p.512: Nominaliter autem significatur divina essentia ut 'quo est', quasi modo abstracto, nomine essentiae vel existentiae, et ut 'quod est', velut per modum concreti, nomine entis et 'qui est'. It is important to note furthermore that the term existence is taken as a qualification of the essence, since it connotes the origin of the essence, or quiddity, or nature. Cf. I, n.349; t.I, p.518a.

40. As to the meaning and authenticity of these divisions and subdivisions and their titles, cf. the remarks of the editors in t.I, p.XXVI s.

### III. Question: On the simplicity of the divine essence.

1. Chapter: In what manner is the divine substance simple?
2. Chapter: In what manner has the divine essence the highest simplicity?
3. Chapter: Whether simplicity is proper only to the divine essence?

It is very significant that the *Summa Minorum* approaches God from the angle of the necessity of His being. What may be called the proofs of the existence of God in the *Summa*, are, in reality, proofs of the necessity of God. Of course, this necessity of God implies immediately the existence of God. For necessity, aseity, and existence follow each other.

The "essentialitas" of God's substance consists in this, that it is necessary. Necessity, therefore, forms the basic notion by which the being of God is qualified, and by which it is first of all distinct from all other beings. It appears at once that the disjunction of necessity-contingency is at the basis of the Metaphysics of the *Summa*, and that it uses rather Avicennian ideas which favor creation, than Aristotelean speculations on potency and act.

Let us now briefly outline the content of the three questions.

#### (a) The "essentialitas" of God's substance.

Under this heading the *Summa* discusses firstly the necessity of God. Five reasons or notions (*intentiones*) are offered, which will show that God's substance is necessary. Though the *Summa* does not call them *viae*, as St. Bonaventure and also St. Thomas styled their proofs of the existence of God, they can be called Alexander's five ways. However, none of them is original. A short enumeration with a few remarks may suffice: for the rest the reader is invited to study them in their context.

The first way uses the notion of *ens* or *esse*. Under the influence of Richard of St. Victor the proof proceeds with a discussion of the four possibilities, or combinations, of the notions. "Ens ab aeterno" and "Ens ex tempore," and the notions "Ens ab alio" and "Ens a se". These are: "Ens ab aeterno et a se"; "Ens ab aeterno et ab alio"; "Ens ex tempore et a se"; "Ens ex tempore et ab alio." The combination "Ens ex tempore et a se" is proved to be an impos-

sibility, since everything that begins in time cannot be *a se*. Consequently there remain only three actual possibilities.

As regards this very rational approach, one detail should not be overlooked. With Richard the *Summa* presents these discussions not only under a conditional form, but also discusses these combinations for every being that exists or can exist, gaining by this method propositions which do not depend on actual being.

After this the *Summa* starts, as did Richard, with the actual order. We know that some beings did not always exist, consequently they do not exist *a se*. Such beings presuppose a being which exists *a se*. However, the only possible combination of "a se" is that with "ens ab aeterno." Hence there must be an "ens ab aeterno" which is "a se." That is the divine substance. The other possibility, "Ens ab aeterno et ens ab alio," is admitted by Richard and the *Summa*.<sup>41</sup> But it does not militate against our main conclusion. It is, therefore, interesting to note that the *Summa* offers a proof which is independent of the question whether the world is from all eternity or not, and whether there exists an "aevum" or not.<sup>42</sup> Created eternity is admitted by the *Summa*.

The second way uses the notion of causality applied to the mutability of creatures. Now Damascene is the guide. However, one detail merits our special attention. For under the guidance of Alanus the *Summa* excludes the circle in causes in a rather ingenious way; and furthermore, accepting the help of Hugh of St. Victor, the *Summa* gives a short outline of the same proof, based on inner experience.<sup>43</sup>

The third way uses the notion of truth. This proof is developed in complete dependence on the proof from truth as explained by St. Anselm.<sup>44</sup>

The fourth way starts on the basis of the notion of goodness. Here William of Auxerre and St. Anselm are the guides. It uses the proposition: *Optimum est optimum*, and immediately infers: *Ergo optimum est*, since the notion of the best includes the notion

41. I, n.25, I; t.I, p.40s.

42. As to "Aevum" see I, n. 65 ss.; t. I, p. 99 ss. As to the impossibility of an eternal world see I, n.64; t.I, p.92 and especially II, n.69; t.II, p.91.

43. I, n.25, II; t.I, p. 41.

44. l.c. III; p.41s.

of "*ens actu necessario*." In this sense the Ratio Anselmi is understood.<sup>45</sup>

The fifth way proceeds from the notion of eminence. It is the proof from the degrees of beings. Again St. Anselm is the guide with Richard of St. Victor offering a variant of this proof.<sup>46</sup>

The *Summa* is well aware of its dependence on tradition and does not claim any originality as regards these five proofs. At the end it states: *Iis igitur rationibus ostenderunt de necessitate Deum esse*.<sup>47</sup>

Only after the proofs of the necessity of God's being are explained does the *Summa* ask whether this necessity of God's being is also imparted to our intellect in such a way that its existence cannot not be thought. There are at least two facts which militate against the statement: *Quod non potest cogitari Deum non esse*. There is the "Insipiens" who says in his heart: there is no God, and the idolater who does not know the true God. Hence it does not seem to be impossible to think that God does not exist.

In answering, the *Summa* distinguishes two kinds of cognitions of God: the one is actual cognition, the other is habitual cognition. The habitual cognition of God is naturally impressed upon our souls, for it is the likeness of the first Truth in our intellect. From this habit or disposition we always can reach a cognition of God's existence. And so it is impossible that God is unknown to a rational soul. Whether by this habit the *Summa* means a kind of illumination (which is probable) or simply the image of God in the soul, by which the soul always remains capable of God (the Augustinian *capax Dei*), is not evident. The actual cognition of God is twofold: We can actually know God either by the higher part of our reason or by the lower part of our reason in accordance with the Augustinian distinction of *Ratio superior* and *inferior*. The higher part of our reason is by definition directed towards God; when, therefore, the soul is moved by it and by the habitual knowledge of God, the soul knows that it is not from itself and consequently from another. Hence it cannot be ignorant that God, its first principle, exists. However, if the soul is moved by the lower reason

45. l.c. IV; p.42.

46. l.c. V; p.42.

47. l.c.; p.42b.



and thus contemplates creatures, it is possible that it does not come to a cognition of God, since sin and error easily interfere, turn the soul away from God, and darken it.<sup>48</sup>

The *Summa*, therefore, holds with St. Anselm that inasmuch as the superior part of the mind is concerned, it is impossible even to think that God does not exist, and in this sense it belongs to God and only to God that his non-existence cannot be thought.<sup>49</sup>

### (b) The immutability of the divine essence.

The proofs of the existence of God have shown that there is necessarily a being which is *a se*, which is the cause of all else, which is absolute truth and goodness, and the highest of all beings. Based on these reasons, and again guided by tradition, the *Summa Minorum* now proceeds to prove that God is absolutely immutable. The idea of the necessity of God who is the truest being, a being *a se*, and who is such a being that in no manner and no mode of His being can He not be, gives the rational basis for the cognition of this attribute of God.<sup>50</sup> No change can occur in God, either as to accident or as to substance, nor can there be any change as to existence or non-existence. This immutability is a distinctive property of God:

Solum autem illud simpliciter et vere est immutabile, quod nec habet mutabilitatem ad esse, quae est a non-esse in esse, nec mutabilitatem in esse secundum substantiam, nec secundum accidens; talis est divina essentia solum: et ideo proprium est ei esse immutabile vere et simpliciter.<sup>51</sup>

The *Summa* also discusses the thorny question of the relation between the immutable being of God and the mutable being of creatures.<sup>52</sup>

### (c) The simplicity of God.

In like manner is the attribute of simplicity proven. The rational basis, is again the necessity of God's being. Simplicity

48. I, n.26; t.I, p.43.

49. I, n.27; t.I, p.44s.

50. Cf. I, n.28, a-c; t.I, p.45s.

51. I, n.30; t.I, p.49.

52. I, n.28, ad object.; t.I, p.47.

excludes from God's essence any essential, or accidental, composition. For what is composed can be thought of as not being, since it can be thought of as being capable of resolution into its constituent parts. Since the divine essence cannot be thought of as not being, it cannot be thought of as composed.<sup>53</sup> Finally the *Summa* proves that this attribute is a distinguishing property of God, insofar as every composition of "quod est" and "quo est" is excluded.<sup>54</sup>

## 2. TRACTATE: ON THE IMMENSITY OF GOD'S ESSENCE.

- I. Question: On the immensity of God as regards Himself, or on the infinity of God.
  1. Chapter: Whether the divine essence is finite or infinite?
  2. Chapter: Whether it is proper only to the divine essence to be infinite?
- II. Question: On the immensity of God as regards the intellect, or on God's incomprehensibility.
  1. Chapter: Whether the divine essence is comprehensible or incomprehensible?
  2. Chapter: On the difference of comprehension in heaven.
- III. Question: On the immensity of God as regards place.
  1. Title: On the incircumscribability of the divine essence (in two chapters).
  2. Title: On the locality of the divine essence (in five chapters).
  3. Title: On God's existence in things.
    1. Member: On God's existence in things in general (in five chapters).
    2. Member: On the existence of God in things through indwelling grace (in six chapters).
- IV. Question: On the immensity of God as regards duration, or on His eternity.
  1. Member: What is eternity, and how is it proved about God?

53. I, n.31; t.I, p.50.

54. I, n.33; t.I, p.52s.

1. Chapter: What is eternity as regards the name (in two articles)?
2. Chapter: What is eternity as regards the thing?
3. Chapter: What is eternity as regards the definition?
4. Chapter: How eternity is proved about the divine essence.
2. Member: On the properties of eternity (in four chapters).
3. Member: On the comparison of eternity with "Aevum."<sup>55</sup>
  1. Chapter: On the essence of "Aevum."
  2. Chapter: On the unity of "Aevum."
  3. Chapter: On the simplicity of "Aevum."
  4. Chapter: On the comparison of "Aevum" with time (in three articles).
4. Member: On the comparison of eternity with time.  
One chapter: Whether the divine nature is in its entirety in every time and always?

After the *Summa* has proven God's necessity, immutability and simplicity, in the first Tractate, it goes on in the second to prove the immensity of God's essence. This is considered firstly in itself (infinity), secondly as regards our intellect (incomprehensibility), thirdly as regards space (incircumscribability), and fourthly as regards time (eternity).

a) *God's infinity*. Infinity can have three meanings. In a negative sense it means to be not finite and thus it excludes any limit. In a privative sense it means not having reached the limits which, nevertheless, exist. In a contrary sense it means that it is repugnant to a thing to be finite or to have more than it actually has. God is not infinite in the second sense, but He is infinite in the first and in the third sense. Hence God is not only infinite because He has no limits, but because, according to Damascene, He is the fullness of being, an infinite ocean of being:

Videtur quidem omnibus principalius eorum quae de Deo dicuntur nominibus esse "Qui est"; totum enim in se ipso comprehendens habet esse velut quoddam pelagus substantiae infinitum et indeterminatum.<sup>56</sup>

55. "Aevum" has, as it seems, no corresponding term in any modern language; we could aptly translate it with created eternity. Like true eternity it is supposed to be without succession, but nevertheless to be created.

56. I, n.34; t.I, p.56.

The proofs given by the *Summa* of this most fundamental attribute of the Christian God are rather weak, though mostly based on the reasons given for God's necessity, as the majority of them presuppose the infinity of God's power. Yet there is one proof which uses the Ratio Anselmi and which leads us back again to God's necessity. It has a faint resemblance to Scotus' *coloratio rationis Anselmi* which is also adduced by the Subtile Doctor to "prove" the infinity of God.

As in the preceding parts, the *Summa* prefers to see the Ratio Anselmi mainly in the light of God's perfection and goodness. That goodness than which no greater can be thought, is said to be infinite; likewise that power than which no greater can be thought and from which every power comes, is said to be infinite. As the proofs of the necessity of God's being have shown, God is such a being than which no greater can be thought. Hence God is "maxime esse." However, this "maxime esse" must not be understood in a relative sense, but, as St. Anselm himself took it, in an absolute sense, viz. as distant in the highest degree from not being. Such a being has not non-being after being, nor being after non-being, nor can it be thought not to be.<sup>57</sup> As is obvious, we join here the infinity of God with the necessity of God.

After this it is easy for the *Summa* to prove that infinity is an essential property of God which cannot be predicated about any creature.<sup>58</sup>

b) *God's incomprehensibility*. This immensity of God as regards our intellect follows immediately from God's absolute infinity. God can be known by our intellect in the sense that our intellect can reach God, but it cannot know God so that nothing of God is unknown to us.<sup>59</sup>

c) *God's incircumscribibility*. The immensity of God's being as regards space and place is proven again by the *Summa*, through

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57. Item, bonitas illa dicitur infinita a qua est omnis bonitas et qua maior excogitari non potest et similiter illa potentia infinita a qua est omnis potentia et qua maior excogitari non potest; ergo et illud esse dicetur infinitum a quo est omne esse et quo maius excogitari non potest; sed tale est esse divinum; ergo illud est infinitum. Dico autem maxime esse, sicut dicit Anselmus, quod maxime distat a non esse, quod scilicet nec habet non esse post esse nec esse post non esse nec potest cogitari non esse. I, n.34, c; t.I, p.55.

58. I, n.35; t.I, p.57s.

59. I, n.36; t.I, p.58ss.



linking it up with the proof of God's necessity; that is, at least, insofar as God's ubiquity is concerned. According to St. Anselm, God is a being than which no greater and better can be thought. But that which is encompassed in space and time is less than that which is not bound by the laws of space and time; hence no time nor space can force God to its limits; consequently God must be always and everywhere.<sup>60</sup>

d) *God's eternity*. God's immensity in relation to duration is called eternity. Here, too, we shall only give a few remarks on the very extensive discussions of the *Summa*. The famous Boethian definition of eternity is adopted by the *Summa*. Since it contains the essential notions of simplicity, immutability and endlessness,<sup>61</sup> the proof of the eternity of God is again based on the proof of God's necessity. Richard and Hugh of St. Victor are the guides; the impossibility of an eternal world is here presupposed and proven later. The proof runs as follows: Nothing can be from itself that is not from eternity. That which started to be in time is preceded by a moment when it did not exist; but as long as it did not exist, it had nothing, and consequently could not do anything, and hence could not bring itself nor anything else to existence. In our first proof of the necessity of God's being, we denied of God a beginning in time. By this denial we posited God's eternity.<sup>62</sup> The *Summa*, then, goes on to deal at length with the properties of eternity and its distinctions from "Aevum" and time.

### 3. TRACTATE: ON THE DIVINE UNITY, TRUTH, AND GOODNESS.

#### I. Question: On the unity of the divine nature.

##### 1. Member: On unity in general.

##### 1. Chapter: What is "one"?

##### 2. Chapter: On the comparison of "one" with "being" and "true" and "good".

##### 3. Chapter: On the differences of "one" and unity.

##### 4. Chapter: What is the opposition between "one" and "many"?

60. I, n.41, a; t.I, p.65.

61. Cf. I, n.59; p.87: *Definitio ista Boethii convenit aeternitati increatae et, sicut quibusdam visum est, tanguntur tres conditiones quae sunt inseparabiles ab aeternitate increata, quae sunt: interminabilitas, invariabilitas, simplicitas.*

62. I, n.60, a; t.I, p.88.

2. Member: On the divine unity in particular.
  1. Chapter: Whether the divine unity is compatible with plurality?
  2. Chapter: Whether the divine unity is compatible with a plurality of natures?
  3. Chapter: Whether the divine unity is compatible with a plurality of principles (in two articles)?
  4. Chapter: Whether the divine unity is compatible with a plurality of ideas?
  5. Chapter: Whether the divine unity is compatible with a plurality of persons?
3. Member: On the comparison of the other unities with the divine unity (in four chapters).

## II. Question: On the truth of the divine nature.

1. Member: On the existence and nature of truth.
  1. Chapter: Whether it is necessary that truth exists?
  2. Chapter: Whether the meaning of truth is different from that of entity, unity, and goodness?
  3. Chapter: What is truth?
  4. Chapter: In what things is there truth?
2. Member: On the proper attributes of truth.
  1. Chapter: Whether truth is one?
  2. Chapter: Whether there are several truths from eternity?
  3. Chapter: Whether every truth is eternal?
  4. Chapter: Whether truth is mutable?
  5. Chapter: Whether the first truth is the cause of all truths?
3. Member: On falsity, which is opposed to truth.
  1. Chapter: Whether the proximate cause of falsity is in things?
  2. Chapter: Whether the proximate cause of falsity is in the senses or in the intellect (in two articles)?
  3. Chapter: Whether falsity is based (*substantificatur*) on truth?
  4. Chapter: Whether "false" is opposed to the first truth?

## III. Question: On the goodness of the divine nature.

1. Member: On goodness in general.

1. Chapter: What is "good" in regard to the definition of its meaning?
  1. Article: Whether "good" and being are the same?
  2. Article: Whether "good" and "beautiful" are the same?
  3. Article: Whether the meaning of "good" is used in regard to the final cause?
2. Chapter: Whether the same goodness is in all "goods"?
  3. Chapter: What are the differences of "good"?
  4. Chapter: On the commonness (*convenientia*) of goodness in all "goods".
2. Member: On the highest good.
  1. Chapter: Whether the notion and love of the highest good is given to us with our creation?
  2. Chapter: Whether "highest good" means an addition to "good"?
  3. Chapter: On the flow of the other goods from the highest good.
3. Member: On the created good.
  1. Chapter: On mode, species, and order by which good in creatures is determined (in five articles).
  2. Chapter: Whether created good is good insofar as it is and by essence (in two articles)?
  3. Chapter: Whether some created good is immutably good?
  4. Chapter: On the effect of good.
  5. Chapter: On the good of the universe (in three articles).
4. Member: On the opposition of evil to good (in eight chapters).

The two preceding tracts of the *Summa Minorum* could be called a negative Theologic, since they deal with essentially negative attributes of God's being. In the center of it is the idea of necessity and aseity. From the necessity and aseity of God's essence follow the immutability, simplicity and immensity of God. The immensity of God's essence unfolds itself in the immensity of His being in itself, as regards our intellect, space, and duration. The following tracts are devoted to attributes of God which are not negative but

analogical. This means that they are attributes which are predicated primarily about God and secondarily about creatures. Let us call therefore this tract together with the following tracts the Analogical Theologic of the *Summa*.

It is very significant that the *Summa* deals with what could be called an "Ontology" only after the foundation of natural theology is laid, thus reversing the order usually accepted by our modern textbooks. The main topic of this "Ontology" is the notion of "ens" and the transcendentals: *Unum, verum, bonum* (and *pulchrum*). The whole tract is deeply influenced by Philip the Chancellor as the editors time and again indicate in the footnotes.

### (a) The notion of being and the doctrine on analogy.

The first intelligible, or that which can first be understood, is "ens." The notion of "ens" is immediately known to the intellect because it is given to it, or rather impressed upon the mind (according to a word of Avicenna), — and not only the notion of "ens," but its immediate qualifications also, *viz. unum, verum, bonum*.<sup>63</sup>

These first impressions upon our intellect, being the highest notions as well, cannot be defined; they can only be made known (*notificari*) by notions which are logically posterior to them, that is, by negations and the effects that follow them. For instance, the notion of "unum" can be made known only by a negation, that is, the negation of division or multitude, and by the effect, that is, "to distinguish," *viz.* itself from other units.

Though "ens" is the first impression upon our intellect, like all the other transcendentals and perfections, it is not predicated univocally but only analogically about God and creatures. As the *Summa* explains, such notions as "esse," "ens," "bonum," etc., are predicated primarily (*per prius*) about God and secondarily (*per posterius*) about creatures. This is so since the being of creatures contains essentially the distinction "quo est" and "quod est"; it thereby entails dependence and relation to the being of God which does not admit this distinction and is absolutely independent.<sup>64</sup>

63. Dicendum quod cum sit 'ens' primum intelligibile, eius intentio apud intellectum est nota; primae ergo determinationes entis sunt primae impressiones apud intellectum: eae sunt unum, verum, bonum... I, n.72, II; t.I, p.113.

64. Cf. I, n.345; t.I, p.513; n.347, p.514; n.21, p.32.



It would lead us too far to enter here a discussion of the theory of analogy in the *Summa* which as far as we can see presupposes a theory of illumination and is intelligible only on the basis of this theory.

(b) The distinction between being and its transcendentals.

Being is that which is first understood. The first determinations of being are to be "unum," "verum," "bonum" (and "pulchrum"). In this manner every being is determined as regards itself (*in proprio genere*), as regards its relation to the divine cause, and as regards its relation to the soul which is an image of the divine essence.<sup>65</sup> This is explained by the *Summa* in detail. Passing over this admirable explanation we shall offer instead of it another extremely condensed text which enlarges on the first and second viewpoint:

Though as to the reality itself "one," "true," and "good" are the same, nevertheless, their notions are different... "Being" or "Beingness" (*entitas*) has an absolute meaning; "one," however, adds indivision to "being": hence unity is the indivision of being. "True," however, adds to the indivision of "being" the indivision of the essence (*esse*) and that which is (this means: the essence and its subject are not separated). But "Good" adds to the indivision of "being" and essence, the indivision as to the "well-being" (*bene esse*): hence "good" means the indivision of the act from its potency, and act means the fulfillment or the perfection of a possibility for which the thing exists. Furthermore... these notions differ in regard to their relation to the cause, which is "one" as principle in so far as it is efficient cause, truth in so far as it is formal cause, goodness in so far as it is final cause...<sup>66</sup>

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65. I, n.73; t.I, p.114s. Let us present here at least the classical distinction of the transcendentals in themselves: Secundum autem quod esse rerum consideratur in proprio genere, triplicatur entis determinatio. Aut enim consideratur absolutum aut comparatum; et comparatum: aut secundum differentiam aut secundum convenientiam. Secundum quod ens aliquod consideratur absolutum, ut divisum ab aliis et in se indivisum, determinatur per 'unum'. Secundum vero quod consideratur aliquod ens comparatum ad aliud secundum distinctionem, determinatur per 'verum': 'verum' enim est quo res habet discerni. Secundum vero quod consideratur comparatum ad aliud secundum convenientiam sive ordinem, determinatur per 'bonum': 'bonum' enim est ex quo res habet ordinari.

66. I, n.88; t.I, p.140. The *Summa* maintains that the transcendentals do not signify entities really distinct from the thing. On the other hand the transcendentals do not posit only a logical or mental distinction as regards the thing. We have here already a case of the *Distinctio formalis*, expressed by the *Summa* in the terms: *Distinctio secundum rationem*. 'Ratio' means here something positive in the thing which, however, is not really distinct from the thing. Cf. the discussions of the editors t.II, p. XXXII, n.17, especially note 4, where further details are given.

(c) The transcendentals in particular and their application to God.

This part of the analogical Metaphysics of the *Summa Minorum* is developed to such an extent that only a few remarks can be selected from it. Our intention here is only to hint at the deep speculations gathered from Tradition.

The notion of *one* in its ontological meaning, clearly distinguished by the *Summa* from the mathematical "one,"<sup>67</sup> means simply the indivision of being, excluding multitude and affirming division from everything else.<sup>68</sup> In a long chapter the *Summa* then proceeds to discuss the various kinds, differences, and degrees of unity, or of "being one," as found in Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, St. Bernard, Avicenna, Aristotle, Algazel and Gundissalinus. Finally the notion "one" as predicated about God is discussed with a demonstration of the unity of God's nature, and the problem of one and many as regards the divine ideas.

The notion of "true" is the second determination of "being." In its ontological meaning it simply states that every being has the indivision of its essence from itself. Hence, by the fact that an "ens" has an "esse" it is "verum." For through its "esse" it is light and able to manifest itself as to what it is:

Omne enim quod manifestatur lumen est; et secundum hunc modum "verum est lux intelligibilis," quia principium manifestativum.<sup>69</sup>

Hence everything is true by its intelligibility in itself, and furthermore by the relation of its essence to the formal cause in God, viz. the *Verbum divinum*.<sup>70</sup> Again the *Summa* makes distinctions between various kinds of truth and quotes the traditional sources. Finally the relation of every truth, be it ontological or logical, to God the highest truth is explained.

The notion of "good" is the third determination of "being" and, like truth, it has to be understood as connoting a relation. Whereas truth adds to being the indivision of the essence from the concrete being, "bonum" adds to this the indivision of the act from its potency, that is, the "well-being" of a thing. This is so

67. I, n.313; t.I, p.460.

68. I, n.72; t.I, p.112s.

69. I, n.88, ad 5; t.I, p.141.

70. l.c. Respondeo.

since from fulfillment of the natural potency of a being there follows its "well-being" and its capability of being desired:

Bonum vero dicit ens cum actu, id est cum complemento, sive utilitate et ordine: et ideo addit enti rationem appetibilis sive desiderabilis, nec est desiderabilis nisi inquantum complementum, sive utile sive delectabile.<sup>71</sup>

It follows immediately that God is goodness in the highest degree, as realization or act, and as desirable good or as ultimate end.<sup>72</sup> Further distinctions of goodness and the relation of every goodness to God must be passed over. However, one remark has to be made. As the editors justly state, the notion of goodness occupies a central position in the *Metaphysics* and *Theology* of the *Summa Minorum*.

The *Summa* does not neglect to discuss, in connection with the transcendental notions of truth and goodness, their contraries, *viz.* falsity and evil, and in this way it includes the problem of theodicy. It also discusses in connection with goodness the transcendental notion of beauty, which it identifies with the *bonum honestum*, or at least it relates it to this.<sup>73</sup>

#### 4. TRACTATE: ON GOD'S POWER.

I. Question: On the notion of power.

1. Member: On the notion of power absolutely speaking.
  1. Chapter: Whether the meaning of power is applied to God in the proper sense?
  2. Chapter: Whether "power" is applied univocally or equivocally to creature and Creator?
  3. Chapter: Whether the notion of power connotes something created besides the divine essence?
2. Member: On the notion of power considered in relation.
  1. Chapter: Whether the notion of power is prior to knowledge and extends to more than knowledge?

71. I, n.102; t.I, p.161.

72. I, n.104; t.I, p. 164. As to the ultimate Platonic basis of these speculations in all the scholastics cf. Hirschberger, "Omne ens est bonum," in *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesch*, 53 (1940) 292-305.

73. Bonum secundum quod dicitur honestum, idem est pulchro, quamvis bonum, quod dicitur utile, non idem. I, n.103; t.I, p.162; cf. also n.106, p.168a.

2. Chapter: Whether power is prior to will and extends to more than will?

II. Question: On the attributes of the divine power.

1. Member: On the universality of God's power (four chapters on the omnipotence of God).
2. Member: On the immensity of God's power (in three chapters).
3. Member: On the perfection of the divine power (in seven chapters).
4. Member: On the invariability of the divine power.

III. Question: On that which is possible to the divine power.

1. Chapter: What is simply possible and impossible?
2. Chapter: Whether that which is against nature is possible to God (in three articles)?
3. Chapter: Whether it is possible to God that opposites be the same?
4. Chapter: Whether that is possible to God which is accidentally impossible?

IV. Question: On the derivation of created power from God.

1. Chapter: Whether the power of receiving flows from the divine power?
2. Chapter: Whether the active power flows from the divine power?
3. Chapter: Whether every power to reside flows from God (the following 4th, 5th, and 6th chapters are on similar topics).

The *Summa Minorum* conceives of the following tractates as a unity, just as it considered the tract on the transcendentals a unity. We read at the beginning of this tract:

Adiuvante Dei gratia, postquam inquisitum est de unitate, veritate et bonitate divina, consequenter inquirendum est de potentia, scientia et voluntate divina: haec enim se habent consequenter secundum intelligentiae rationem.<sup>74</sup>

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74. t.I, p.201.



The beautiful structure of the *Metaphysics* of the *Summa* would have been better expressed by uniting in one the three following tracts. In this way its symmetry with the preceding would also be more evident (for power corresponds to unity, knowledge to truth, and will to goodness). It seems, however, that the *Summa* for practical reasons has split this unity into three distinct tracts. In order to remain faithful to the divisions of the *Summa*, we shall present them, therefore, as distinct, whilst at the end we shall present the ideal structure behind these artificial divisions.

The fact that God has power is not especially proven by the *Summa*, since it is obviously contained in the preceding parts. Scotus, however, would find difficulties in some of the previous reasons and mainly as regards God's infinity. The *Summa* is more concerned with the meaning or notion (*intentio*) of the divine power, with omnipotence, and with its extension and limitation. The meaning of omnipotence is explained with Alanus ab Insulis: *Omnipotens dicitur (Deus), quia omnia possibilis potest quae potentiae est, et quia omnino potest.*<sup>75</sup> This definition contains two ideas. First, it specifies that all things which are really possible are subject to God's omnipotence. However, it is not clearly indicated what this real possibility is. The absence of a contradiction seems to be a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for this possibility.<sup>76</sup> The possibility that is meant is the possibility to be produced. Whilst the first specification regards things that are possible, the second, "et quia omnino potest," regards God Himself; it means that the subject God is not under force, or cannot be impeded, or is not in need of anything.<sup>77</sup>

In order to show more clearly what is possible and not possible to God's power, the *Summa* introduces into the Franciscan tradition that distinction which later became so dear to Scotus, Ockham, and other scholastics, *viz.* the distinction between *Potentia Dei absoluta* and *ordinata*. It seems that the *Summa* took this distinction either from William of Auxerre or from Praepositinus:

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75. I, n.137; t.I, p.212.

76. The *Summa* expressly states that it does not speak of logical modality: *Dicendum quod intentio 'possibilis' solet dici de dicto et de re subiecta. Secundum quod dicitur de dicto, non pertinet ad praesentem quaestionem...* I, n.151; t.I, p.231.

77. I, n.137; t.I, p.212.

Potentia Dei intelligitur dupliciter: uno modo absoluta, alio modo ordinata secundum rationem divinae praeordinationis iustitiae reddentis unicuique secundum merita.<sup>78</sup>

To determine the limits of God's absolute power is impossible, since God's omnipotence is an infinite ocean of power. God's ordained power, however, is determined by, or in agreement with, the power itself and with truth and goodness.<sup>79</sup> This absolute power of God, that is, God's power considered in itself, precedes the determination by the divine intellect and will, whilst God's ordained power is never without them. Hence, we reach the strong expression:

Respondeo, quod nullo modo limitatur divina potentia: nec actu nec voluntate nec iustitia nec bonitate nec praescientia nec ratione, quamvis egressum divinae potentiae in actum semper concomitatur voluntas, iustitia, bonitas, praescientia, ratio, quae in Deo eadem sunt secundum rem. Infinita est ergo potentia respectu agendorum, quamvis non voluntas nec iustitia nec praescientia nec ratio.<sup>80</sup>

Small wonder, therefore, that we find the classical formula already in the *Summa*:

De potentia ergo absoluta posset damnare Petrum et salvare Iudam; de potentia vero ordinata secundum praeordinationem et retributionem secundum merita, non posset...<sup>81</sup>

## 5. TRACTATE: ON THE DIVINE KNOWLEDGE.

### I. Section: On the divine knowledge considered absolutely.

One Question: On the nature and attributes of the divine knowledge.

1. Member: What is the divine knowledge?

2. Member: By what is the divine knowledge?

1. Chapter: Whether God knows things by Himself or by something else?

78. I, n.141; t.I, p.220.

79. Nihil temere asserendo, cum omni modestia respondendum quod, si potentia Dei concipiatur ab anima absolute, non potest anima determinare nec capere infinitum pelagus suae potestatis. Sed cum anima speculatur divinam potentiam ut ordinatam secundum conditionem potestatis, veritatis, bonitatis, dico quod possibile Deo est quod posse potentiae est et non potest quod est impotentiae. I, n.155; t.I, p.236.

80. I, n.142; t.I, p.221.

81. I, n.141; t.I, p.220s.

2. Chapter: Whether God knows by a cause?
3. Chapter: Whether God known by one (reason) or by many?
4. Chapter: Whether the divine knowledge is by an exemplar?
3. Member: Of which is the divine knowledge?
  1. Chapter: Whether the knowledge of God is of beings and non-beings?
  2. Chapter: Whether the knowledge of God is of infinite things?
  3. Chapter: Whether the knowledge of God is of good and evil things?
  4. Chapter: Whether God's knowledge is of necessary and contingent things?
  5. Chapter: Whether God's knowledge is of all possible propositions (*enuntiabilium*)?
  6. Chapter: Whether God's knowledge is of singular things?
  7. Chapter: Whether God's knowledge is of opposites?
4. Member: On the mode of God's knowledge.
  1. Chapter: On the ideas of things and on the "reasons" in the Wisdom of God.
  2. Chapter: How evils are known by God.
  3. Chapter: How God knows all things by their presence.
  4. Chapter: How God knows all things at once.
  5. Chapter: How God knows all things perfectly.
  6. Chapter: How God knows all things immutably.
- II. Section: On the knowledge of God considered in its relations.
  - I. Question: On God's knowledge in relation to future things, or on the prescience of God (in seven chapters).
  - II. Question: On the knowledge of God as regards things to be made (the "disposition" of God in five chapters).
  - III. Question: On the knowledge of God as regards things to be governed.
    1. Title: On divine providence (in seven chapters).
    2. Title: On the *fatum* (in five chapters).

IV. Question: On the knowledge of God in relation to salvation. (This question deals almost exclusively with the theological problems of predestination, reprobation, election, love of God, and the Book of Life.)

This vast tract — more than one hundred pages of our edition — approaches the "Scientia divina" from both the philosophical and the theological angle. Only a few remarks of special interest for Metaphysics may be presented. The *Summa* does not prove the existence of God's knowledge, nor even of an intellect in God, presumably, because it proved already that God is truth.

The nature of God's knowledge is ascertained by an approach from the nature of human knowledge both in its substantial agreement and difference. Then we can characterize God's knowledge as a speculative similitude of knowable things. It is not a similitude gotten from the things, but a similitude towards the things which are similar to it; we can characterize it not only as an actual, but also as an habitual knowledge. For God's knowledge is independent of things whether they exist or do not exist, and it regards all things be they good or evil. Such an habitual and independent knowledge can be aptly compared with light, when we suppose that light contains the similitude of all colors: even if no color existed in reality, the similitude of color would still be in the light. The knowledge that God has of Himself, however, is never habitual, but always actual, because God is always present to Himself.<sup>82</sup>

If God does not receive any knowledge from outside, He must know things by Himself.<sup>83</sup> This is possible, because God is the cause of things which are not God. Hence God knows all things as their cause: *Omnia scit per se, qui est causa omnium*.<sup>84</sup> And since God is absolutely simple, He knows the multitude of things not by a multitude of "reasons" but only by one "reason" which is God Himself.<sup>85</sup> We may call this knowledge that God has about things "idea," if we take idea as identical with God's essence. Plato erred in separating the ideas from the divine essence.<sup>86</sup>

82. I, n.163; t.I, p.245.

83. I, n.164; t.I, p.247.

84. I, n.165; t.I, p.248.

85. I, n.166; t.I, p.249.

86. I, n.167; t.I, p.250.



As to the objects of God's knowledge, we have to state that God knows all things, whether they exist or not, whether they have existed or will exist. The reason for this is at hand. God is the cause of everything, either as the cause which *can* produce them, or as the cause which *disposes* them, or as the cause which *actually* produces them. As "Causa potens" God knows many things which never have existed and never will exist; as "Causa disponens" He knows everything which exists, has existed, or will exist; as "causa operans" He knows everything which actually exists.<sup>87</sup>

From this it follows immediately that God knows an infinity of things. For we proved that God's power is infinite; hence as "Causa potens" God knows infinite things.<sup>88</sup>

God also knows good and evil things. Though God's knowledge is a similitude, and evil things are not similar to God insofar as they are evil, nevertheless, God knows this dissimilitude through His similitude, because he knows that evil things lack this similitude. God likewise knows evil things through His causality not, however, as efficient cause but as deficient cause.<sup>89</sup>

God also knows all singulars. This is easily proved by the *Summa*: Creatures know singular facts, consequently God knows them also. The objection, taken from the Platonic-Aristotelean epistemology, that the immateriality of the intellect prevents it from knowing singular facts and allows it to know only universals, is discarded by the *Summa*, since it is a fact that the human intellect knows singulars:

Aliter tamen dicendum et verius, quod intellectus humanus intelligit singularia.

Whilst the human intellect knows singular things by the help of a universal species obtained by means of the senses, and whilst the angelic intellect knows them by a similar species not received from the senses, God knows singulars by a species which is not different from Himself.<sup>90</sup>

Next the *Summa Minorum* treats the doctrine of ideas and

87. I, n.168, II; t.I, p.251.

88. I, n.169; t.I, p.252.

89. I, n.170 ad i, 2; t.I, p.253.

90. I, n.173; t.I, p.256.

finally the problem of God's knowledge of future contingent facts. The solution of the latter problem comes close to that presented by Scotus, for the *Summa* seems to be in favor of an explanation which uses the determination of God's causality.<sup>91</sup> On the other hand the *Summa* seems to favor St. Bonaventure's theory that God knows future contingent facts through his ideas.<sup>92</sup>

## 6. TRACTATE: ON GOD'S WILL.

### I. Question: On the notion of divine will.

1. Chapter: Whether the notion of will is applied to God?
2. Chapter: What is will as regards its signification (*ratio dicendi*)?
3. Chapter: On the comparison of will with power and knowledge.

### II. Question: On the causality<sup>93</sup> of the divine will.

1. Chapter: Why will is rather defined by "cause" and not by "power" or "wisdom".
2. Chapter: What kind of cause is the divine will?
3. Chapter: Whether the divine will has a cause or reason?

### III. Question: On the differences of the divine will.

1. Title: On the differences of the divine will in general.
2. Title: On the differences of the divine will in particular.
  1. Member: On the *voluntas beneplaciti*.
  2. Member: On the *voluntas signi*.
    1. Chapter: On the divine prescription and prohibition (in three articles).
    2. Chapter: On the divine permission (in three articles).
    3. Chapter: On the divine operation (in three articles).

### IV. Question: On that which is subject to the divine will.

1. Chapter: Whether it is subject to the divine will for evils to exist or to happen?
2. Chapter: Whether it is good that evils exist or happen?
3. Chapter: Whether evils are of use?

91. Cf. I, n.171 ad 4; t.I, p.255.

92. Cf. I, n.177; t.I, p.262.

93. On page 360 we read *quidditate*; no manuscript seems to have *causalitate*. The editors simply add a footnote saying: *id est causalitate*, cf. p.363, where indeed the second question deals with the causality of God's will.

- V. Question: On the fulfillment of the divine will. Whether the divine will is always fulfilled?
- VI. Question: On the conformation of the human will with the divine will?
1. Chapter: Whether there can be such a conformation?
  2. Chapter: What is conformation?
  3. Chapter: Whether we are bound to conform our will to the divine will?
  4. Chapter: Whether we are bound to will what the divine will wills?
  5. Chapter: Whether we are bound to will whatever we know God wills?
  6. Chapter: Whether it was meritorious for the Saints that they did not will the death of Christ?
  7. Chapter: Whether it is meritorious to feel sad about the sufferings of the Saints?
  8. Chapter: Whether the just may rejoice over the sufferings of the wicked?

By will, the *Summa Minorum* understands the power of free decision or of free will. Following Damascene it states: Will is an understanding power, master of its acts. Such a will is in God, because a power which knows itself and dominates its own acts is better than a power which has no knowledge and works blindly. Since we have to attribute to God everything that is more perfect, it follows that God has a will.<sup>94</sup>

The will of God is not different from God's substance, and its act is identical with the essence of God.<sup>95</sup>

As to the causality of God's will, the *Summa* states first that the causality of God as regards exterior facts, is not to be attributed to the power of God nor to the knowledge of God, but rather to the will of God, which presupposes both power and knowledge.<sup>96</sup> God's will is the cause of all things which are positive and which have an efficient cause, hence no evil things as such are subject

94. I, n.266, a; t.I, p.360.

95. I.c. ad 2; t.I, p.361.

96. Sed ubi est voluntas, necessaria sunt scientia et potentia; propter hoc voluntas dicit totam causam, non potentia vel scientia, quia ad ipsam concurrunt scientia et potentia. Ideo potius definitur voluntas per causalitatem quam potentia vel scientia. I, n.269; t.I, p.363.

to the causality of God's will, since they have only a deficient cause.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, God is the immediate cause of all things, so that there is no means between God's will and its effects.<sup>98</sup>

Since the will of God is first cause, it cannot have a cause, neither an efficient nor a final cause; for it is not dependent on a principle or reason. However, God's will is not without reason, since God's will is not irrational:

Respondeo, secundum Anselmum: Voluntas divina proprie non est ex ratione, nec aliquid sit ei principium; nec praeter rationem, nec irrationabilis esse videatur; dicitur tamen habere rationem, sicut idem dicitur habere se ipsum: idem enim est in Deo voluntas et ratio; sed si dicatur ratio aliquis finis extra, nullo modo habet rationem.<sup>99</sup>

After this the *Summa Minorum* goes on to speak about the differences of the divine will, making the traditional distinctions and treating in detail the *voluntas beneplaciti* and the *voluntas signi*. The rest, however, is concerned with moral questions.

### III. FINAL REFLECTIONS

When we look back at the system of Metaphysics, or Theologic which the *Summa Minorum* develops mainly in its first part,<sup>100</sup> we have to acknowledge a certain artificiality. However, this artificiality is due principally to the general scheme of the *Summa* (which is theological) and partly to practical reasons. Nevertheless, even taking into account this artificiality, we have to confess that the *Summa Minorum* can well stand a comparison with any of the classical scholastics in regard to their system of Metaphysics or Theologic. We do not know any system which even in theological surroundings shows a clearer scheme of Theologic when we look a little deeper, and go beyond the artificial web of divisions and subdivisions. For it is not difficult to see through the thin veil of this scheme and behold behind it a grand, ideal scheme, or system,

97. I, n.270; t.I, p. 364 a.

98. I.c. Respondeo II; t.I, p.364.

99. I, n.271; t.I, p.366.

100. The beginning of the second book or Part of the *Summa* is also important for Metaphysics, since nn. 6-19 (t.II, p.14-29) contain detailed discussions of God's threefold causality. The place of this part and other metaphysical discussions of the *Summa* is easily found in the scheme of Metaphysics previously presented.



of Metaphysics as Theologic, which forces our admiration even though we may not follow it as to its every detail. This ideal scheme — abstracted from the *Summa*, and not projected into the *Summa* — clearly shows two main divisions. The first main part deals with God's negative and privative attributes; the second main part deals with God's analogical attributes. However, within both main divisions two main subdivisions can easily be distinguished as from more basic notions less basic notions are developed. Within the first main division, God's necessity and aseity are clearly recognized as basic. The *Summa* does not fail to go back to this time and again. In the second main division, though not so clearly as in the former, the theory of the transcendentals is likewise basic in reference to the tracts which follow on God's power, knowledge and will. They are certainly correlated, since "one," "true," and "good" are correlated to power, wisdom, and will. The whole Theologic of the *Summa Minorum* is preceded by an introductory tract on the cognoscibility of God.

Hence we gain the following ideal scheme of the *Summa*:

#### Introduction: God's cognoscibility.

- I. Main part: The negative and privative attributes of God.
  1. The necessity and aseity of God's existence. The five ways of proving the existence of God.
  2. The attributes of God following from God's necessity and aseity.
    - a) God's immutability.
    - b) God's simplicity.
    - c) God's immensity:
      - God's infinity,
      - God's incomprehensibility,
      - God's ubiquity and incircumscribability,
      - God's eternity.
- II. Main Part: The analogical attributes of God.
  1. God's attributes as regards the transcendentals.
    - a) (The predication of being).
    - b) The predication of *unum*.
    - c) The predication of *verum*.
    - d) The predication of *bonum*.

e) (The predication of *pulchrum*.)

2. God's attributes correlated to the three classical transcendentals.

a) God's power (*unum* — correlated to the efficient cause).

b) God's knowledge (*verum* — correlated to the exemplary cause).

c) God's will (*bonum* — correlated to the final cause).

By our statement that this would be the ideal scheme of the Metaphysics of the *Summa Minorum*, we do not imply, however, that this would be the ideal scheme of Metaphysics or Theologic, absolutely speaking. It is certainly better than most of the schemes offered by our modern textbooks. However, a thorough discussion of possible shortcomings would lead us too far afield, and would involve us in the intricate question of the relation between Ontology and Theodicy. Instead let us now briefly outline the systems of Metaphysics explicitly or implicitly offered by two other Franciscans of Oxford, *viz.* Thomas of York and Duns Scotus.

The *Sapientiale* of Thomas of York (d.c. 1260) has been called the first metaphysical *Summa* of the Middle Ages.<sup>101</sup> Grabmann has praised it as "eine selbständige, grossangelegte systematische Darstellung der Metaphysik."<sup>102</sup> This leading scholar in the history of scholasticism had first given us an idea of this system of Metaphysics. Longpré later enlarged it by editing all the chapter-headings according to a manuscript different from, and better than, that used by Grabmann.<sup>103</sup> Thomas of York undoubtedly intended his work as Metaphysics as the title indicates and the content largely justifies. It is divided into three parts:

### I. Part: On God or the Creator.

This part could be properly called Theologic. After preliminary discussions it deals with God's existence and unity;

101. Cf. E. Longpré, O.F.M., "Fr. Thomas d'York, O.F.M. La première Somme Métaphysique du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Arch. Franc. Hist.* 19 (1926) 875-930.

102. M. Grabmann, "Die Metaphysik des Thomas von York (+ ca. 1260), in Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet... (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, herausgeb. von Cl. Bäumker, Supplementband) (Münster 1913), p. 184.

103. Grabmann knows six books of this work; Longpré, however, seven. The latter seems more artificial. The division into three parts is clearly indicated by the original.

names and descriptions of God; with God's incircumscribability and relation to time; with God's simplicity, immutability, knowledge, ideas, power, goodness, will, beatitude, providence; with the worship of God; with God's activity; with grace and the happiness of man in God.

## II. Part: On creatures.

It deals firstly with the production of being in general, discusses the beginning of the world and the composition of creatures from matter and form.

Secondly it deals with Metaphysics as Ontology, that is, with being as being.<sup>104</sup> In particular we find a long discussion of the notion of being, and of the division of being; the categories (preceded by a tract on the second substance or the universal) and the notions which later were called by Duns Scotus "*passiones entis disiunctivae*," as *infinitum*, *finitum*, *necesse*, *possibile*, are dealt with *in extenso*. The disjunction of *causatum* — *incausatum* offers an opportunity for a long discussion on the theory of causes. Next follows a tract on principles. Finally the transcendental notions of "good," "one," and "true" are discussed, in such a way, however, that other topics are interwoven; for example, a theory of opposition, a theory of analogy (predication *per prius et posterius*) and an explanation of potency and act and of nature.

## III. Part: This part deals with things which are "under being" (*de his quae subsunt enti*). Grabmann calls it "Special Metaphysics."<sup>105</sup> The *Sapientiale* discusses "parts of being in particular," that is, the universe (*mundus*), the rational soul, and the intelligences. As is evident, behind this unfinished part is the Aristotelean idea of Metaphysics as the science of the separate substances.

When we now compare this scheme of Metaphysics with that of the *Summa Minorum*, we cannot deny a certain similarity be-

104. His ita premissis de productione entium in communi, loquar nunc de ente secundum quod est ens et de hiis que sunt entis per se. Hec autem consideratio nullius est scientie particularis, cuius est pertractare de aliqua parte entis... sed potius philosophie prime, que considerat principia et causas ultimas, que sunt entis simpliciter et per se... Quoted by Grabmann, art. 6 cit. p.188, note 4.

105. art. cit. p.190.

tween both. Both start with Theologic and both deal only later with what could be called Ontology. Nevertheless, there is a great difference between them as to their inner structure. The tract on Ontology is an integral part of the Theologic of the *Summa Minorum*, while it does not appear to be such in the *Sapientiale* of Thomas of York. We prefer to abstain from further analysis of this point, because it seems to be too hazardous to use even a detailed scheme of the *Sapientiale* available only in the headlines of its chapters. There is no foundation, explicit or implicit, in either Summa for the view that Physics must precede Metaphysics, or that special Metaphysics must follow general Metaphysics.<sup>106</sup>

Let us now turn to another Oxford theologian, the Doctor Subtilis, and let us ask him for an idea of Metaphysics and its structure. We look in vain, however, for a system or structure of Metaphysics which is explicitly developed by the Doctor Subtilis. On the other hand there is a definite idea of Metaphysics and also of its structure underlying the metaphysical discussions of Scotus. It appears, therefore, to us, that Scotus would answer in this way:

Metaphysics is a universal, that is, a general science, since it deals with transcendental notions that are not confined to one genus of beings. The subject of Metaphysics is being as being, which notion is univocal to created and increated being. Because this notion is univocal it is able to be used in the construction of a Theologic. Since Metaphysics takes "being" as subject, the immediate predicates of being have as wide a range as being itself, and hence must cover created and increated being, transcending the categories. Such predicates are called transcendentals, as Scotus says, or transcendentals as we would say. Metaphysics, therefore, is a science of the transcendentals.<sup>107</sup>

106. As to the first part we are in agreement with Grabmann (art. cit. p.192); as to the second we are in disagreement. For what Grabmann calls Special Metaphysics in the *Sapientiale* is, in our opinion, not that which Neo-Scholastics under the leadership of Christian Wolff (prepared by Suarez) call Special Metaphysics. For Special Metaphysics deals with God, the world and the soul. The *Sapientiale* deals with God at the beginning, and with the world in the second part, that is with both before the so-called Special Metaphysics! That the Summa had added the third part at all, which, probably better, could be called a tract on the "Intelligences" is due to the Aristotelian inspiration of the work, since, according to Aristotle, the "separate substances" are the object of Metaphysics also.

107. Igitur necesse est esse aliquam scientiam universalem, quae per se considerat illa transcendentia, et hanc scientiam vocamus Metaphysicam, quae dicitur a meta, quod est trans, et physis, scientia, quasi transcendens scientia, quia est de transcendentibus. Quaest. Subt. in Metaphysic. prol. n.5; ed. Vivès, t.7, p.5a.



Of such transcendentals several types can be distinguished. There are the transcendentals (*passiones entis*) which are convertible with being; they are the classical ones: *unum, verum, bonum*. There are, furthermore, transcendentals, which are predicable about every being only in disjunction (*passiones entis disiunctivae*), as, *finitum-infinitum, necesse-contingens, a se - ab alio*, etc. There also transcendentals which are pure perfections, as, "wisdom," "love," "will," etc. Metaphysics is concerned: with all these transcendentals, and in general with all notions which transcend the categories. By their help it enriches the notion of being which is the subject of Metaphysics, thus developing a theory of being or a true Ontology.

By developing such a theory we gain our first notions about God, not by simply constructing them, but by demonstrating them. Duns Scotus has given us an example of this procedure in his precious treatise *De Primo rerum Principio*. There only transcendental notions are used, truly "*passiones metaphysicales*," and the result is a proper, though composite notion of God. Hence theologic is an integral part of the Metaphysics of Scotus, and even may be identified with it. However, according the *Oxonien se*, in this Theologic, God is not the subject; for the subject of the highest conclusions of this science remains *ens*, since the highest point reached in this Metaphysics is the conclusion: *Aliquid ens est actu infinitum*.<sup>108</sup>

The towering peak of Scotus' Metaphysics is, therefore, likewise theologic. The firm and broad basis of this are transcendental notions, though not all of them, since preference has to be given to the disjunctive transcendentals over the convertible transcendentals. Now, it is surprising that the *Summa Minorum* likewise mainly uses disjunctive transcendentals as a starting-point, for as such it uses — to speak a Scotistic language — the *passio entis disiunctiva* of *necesse — contingens*, and *a se — ab alio*. The Doctor Subtilis starts with the three transcendentals, *efficiens-effectum, finis-finitum, excedens-excessum*, which follow the laws of the transcendental relation, *prius-posterius*.<sup>109</sup> We cannot omit re-

108. In *Metaphysica* etsi Deus non est subiectum primum, est tamen consideratum in illa scientia nobilissimo modo, quo potest in aliqua scientia considerari naturaliter acquisita. Oxon. q. 2, prol. n.20; t.8, p.171. However, according to the *Quaestiones in Met.*, God also can be *first subject*.

109. Cf. the second chapter of Scotus' *De Primo Rerum Principio*, where a theory of relation is developed in the first conclusions.

calling again that the *Sapientiale* of Thomas of York at least has a detailed discussion on these disjunctive transcendentals, though its organic connection with Metaphysics as Theology seems to be blurred. On the other hand the Seraphic Doctor has actually used them in his much neglected proofs of the existence of God.<sup>110</sup>

The historical conclusion of this digression is this: The ideal of a Franciscan Metaphysics is Theologic and its starting point is being. However, we do not think that this is only a historical conclusion. We agree with Fr. Pacificus Borgmann, O.F.M. that Metaphysics is Theologic also in a systematical sense. The justification of this position does not, however, belong to our present task.

We have to come to a close of our already lengthy discussions of the Metaphysics of the *Summa Minorum* and that of some Franciscan scholastics. What is evident at least is this, that Theologic is an integral part of Metaphysics. If a distinction between *Metaphysica generalis* and *Metaphysica specialis* has to be made at all, in the light of our tradition and of the tradition of Christian thought before 1500, it can have only this meaning: that Theologic or the *Metaphysica specialis* follows the development of a theory of being, mostly of the transcendentals, which are predicable in disjunction. The problem of the classical convertible transcendentals has to be discussed within Theologic itself as the *Summa Minorum* clearly shows.

It seems to us that such a Metaphysics would be the realization of the science for which Aristotle was seeking, and which has come down to his followers in a rather confusing condition. Such a science would even realize the ideal of a strict science in the Aristotelean sense, since it can satisfy the Aristotelian requirements of strict demonstration, not of course of the *demonstratio propter quid*, but of the *demonstratio quia*. In such a real science a theory of being and its transcendentals — with the restrictions mentioned above — together with a theory on relations, would take the place

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110. Cf. the "secunda via" of the proof of the existence of God in De mysterio Trinitatis, q.1, a.1, fundamenta 11-20: t.V, p.46-47. The Seraphic Doctor uses ten such "conditiones vel suppositiones," that is, ten disjunctive transcendentals expressed in the conditional form, in which the position of the antecedent infers the position of the consequent; for instance, if there is an *ens posterius*, there is an *ens prius*; if there is an *ens ab alio*, there is an *ens a se*, etc.

Cf. also the different use of the disjunctive transcendentals in *Itinerarium*, c.5, 3; t.V, p.308.

of the *Axiomata*. The fact that something exists at all, and a few further qualifications which can be ascertained from one fact, will serve as "Archai." Hence, we emphatically state that the ideal of Metaphysics of the *Summa Minorum* is truly Aristotelian.<sup>111</sup>

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111. What a Platonic, or rather Neo-Platonic, Metaphysics would be is explained by Cl. Bäumker in Witelo, *Ein Philosoph und Naturforscher des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Beiträge, Bäumker, Bd 3, Münster 1908) p.279 ss. Witelo's tract *De intelligentiis* is such a Metaphysics, although it is tinged with Aristotelian thought Cf. the detailed plan of this Metaphysics on p.283s.

## A MANUSCRIPT OF ALEXANDER OF HALES

SINCE this issue of *FRANCISCAN STUDIES* does honor to the memory of Alexander of Hales, the student of things Franciscan will be interested to know that there are two manuscripts of the Doctor Irrefragabilis which have found permanent homes here in the United States. One, the property of Columbia University, New York, is a *Tabula Quaestionum* of Alexander's *Summa Theologica*. Listed in the Census under questionable authorship,<sup>1</sup> a comparison with the critical edition of Alexander's *Summa* convinces us that this is most certainly his work.<sup>2</sup> The other manuscript, the subject of this article, is now housed with the valuable collection of Franciscana at Holy Name College in Washington, D.C.

A work of the early (?) XIVth Century, the Holy Name College manuscript was long considered a Commentary on Book IV of the Sentences of Peter Lombard and is catalogued as such in the Census.<sup>3</sup> Examination of the text, however, shows that this manuscript constitutes the first half of Book IV of Alexander's *Summa Theologica*. Alexander never wrote a commentary on the Sentences, as his Quaracchi editors attest. These same editors list three manuscripts of Alexander's *Summa* which are entitled "*Super Sententias*" and eight others where the titles "Summa" and "*Super Sententias*" are used indiscriminately, and they proceed to quote no less an authority than Francis Cardinal Ehrle who states that "Alexander left no commentaries on the Sentences; but his *Summa* is often called a *scriptum in libros Sententiarum* in ancient book-titles and indexes."<sup>4</sup> A comparison between our manuscript and an incunabulum of the *Summa* printed in 1482, the property of St. Bonaventure College, substantiates this statement.

1. S. De Ricci, and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, W. J. Wilson and Co., 1935-1940), II, 1766, no. 74.

2. *Summa Theologica*, Quaracchi, 1924, I, 1.

3. *Op. cit.*, I, 484, no. 90.

4. *Summa Prolegomena*, I, xxv.



The manuscript itself is in an excellent state of preservation though incomplete. At least one folio at the end is missing, column two on folio 19v is left uncopied creating a lacuna in the text, and, due to a careless rebinding of a much later date, folios five to eight are misplaced. The remaining folios are in correct order as far as can be determined at this time.

Written on vellum in two columns of 59 lines each, the manuscript page measures 41.5 x 28.5 cm. and the text, 29 x 18.5. There are no divisions of the text into Questions, Articles, etc. indicated either in the text itself or in the margin, except for a solitary marginal note done in red on folio 112r which opens Alexander's consideration of the Holy Eucharist (see Plate II). There is an occasional word or phrase erased in the text and the corrected form written in the margin by a later hand; generally speaking, however, the margin is free of all writing. Quite regularly after every two folios we find a Roman numeral inserted at the extreme edge of the margin. These numerals start with II and continue on to LVI (just a folio before Alexander's treatment of the Holy Eucharist) and then repeat themselves to the end of the book. Since they in no wise have bearing on the text itself, they must be the scribe's markings used to indicate the number of 'pecia' copied.<sup>5</sup> Number XVI is omitted, but number XVIII is had twice. The small paragraph marks throughout the work are done in red or blue inks, while the initial letters employ a happy combination of both colors. In only a few instances has the original black ink of the text faded.

The text opens abruptly with the introductory words of Question I of Book IV (see Plate I) : "*Dictum est supra de redemptore qui est per gratiam reparator. Nunc dicendum est...*" and closes just as abruptly in the middle of Question LIII with: "*Horror est enim homini carnem comedere et sanguinem bibere.*" Since the incunabulum cited above includes one hundred and fourteen Questions, our manuscript covers just a little less than half of this material. In it Alexander of Hales treats of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Eucharist. The lost folio

5. Cf. J. Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe s.* (Paris, 1935), p. 66.

**B**onum est super de reprobato qui est per gratiam  
reprobato. Nunc cum est de reprobato rep  
robo enim quidam est per gratiam in per se ipsum que  
dam per gratiam per se ipsum suae consummata  
Primo igitur tangetur de prima in parte. Secundo  
de secunda reprobato per gratiam in per se ipsum est illa quod sit per  
gratiam sacramentorum. Ad quoniam procedendum est  
sic. Primo dicitur de sacramentis in genere. Deinde de  
divinis sacramentis. Post statum autem legem et sub lege  
et in tempore gratie. Cum sacramentum in genere primo que  
rendum est de quiditate sacramentorum in genere. Secundo  
que sit necessitas sacramentorum. Tercio quod perti  
neant ad institutionem. Quarto in quibus con  
sistant sacramenta et quod divina sacramentorum. Quon  
to utrum sint alicuius virtutis spiritualis.

**S**exto de duratio sacramentorum. Septimo de  
effectu sacramentorum.

**P**rimo igitur quod de his rationibus non sacramentum est  
sacre rei signum. De aliis rationibus spiritualibus  
iustitia quod quoniam spiritualis agere de ipsis sacra  
mentis et quod si sacramentum est sacre rei signum aut  
est naturale aut voluntarium si naturale quod ut  
dicit hugo. Sacramentum est existens in signi  
ficant. Contra ut quod ad ablucens gratiam  
ablucens significat. Item quod utrum sacramentum  
sit signum demonstrativum aut pronosticativum aut  
rememorativum. Quod demonstrativum tamen ut sic  
signum dicitur se ad signatum si etiam similiter se ponit  
et similiter se destruit. Per signum est quod se offert sen  
sui ad derivandum in virtutem. scilicet in illam. Et

firmate ad cui' introductionem ⁊ stabilita-  
te facit caract' ih' sacramto i p'ssus ⁊ p-  
p'us ad confirmatōem g're lap's. ¶ p'cedi-  
t' caract' n' sit dux ad confirmand' n'm.  
sup'fluit p' eo q' ē ad distinguend' sicut  
p'us sunt factū ⁊ signū distinctū spuat  
d; respice h'. ¶ Sed tra men tum

**Q**uādo de instructione. ¶ Tercio de unitate  
Quarto de integritate ¶ Quinto de g'sera-  
tione ¶ Sexto de subor ex'p'ssione. ¶ Septimo  
de g'ruencia. ¶ Vm. de efficacia ¶ Vr. de  
defiracione ¶ Vr. de sup'p'oe sue manudic.

**C**irca p'mū p'mo d' ē de g'ruencia p-  
figuratōis ¶ S'cdo. de immo ⁊ suffica-  
ficuraz ¶ Tercio de g'patoe eandem.

or folios at the end would have completed his treatment of these three Sacraments.

Unfortunately nothing is known of its history prior to its arrival in this country shortly after the First World War. Brought from Germany it was kept in St. Francis Monastery, New York, and in 1930 was removed to Holy Name College, the Franciscan House of Studies for Holy Name Province.

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\* I wish to express my thanks to Very Rev. Mathias Faust, O.F.M. who made the manuscripts treated available through the kind courtesy of Holy Name College Library and Columbia University Libraries.



## THE "INTELLECTUS AGENS" IN THE "SUMMA" OF ALEXANDER OF HALES

ALEXANDER OF HALES, the first Franciscan to occupy the chair of philosophy at Paris, and the principal figure of a long line of theologian-philosophers,<sup>1</sup> is credited with a work which well could be called *Summa Minorum*, or *Franciscan Summa*.<sup>2</sup> In this *Summa*, Hales has made use of nearly all the philosophical works of Aristotle, but this did not prevent him from abandoning Aristotle on some important questions. A preponderant place is reserved for a number of Platonic and Augustinian theories.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander relies strongly upon St. Augustine for his metaphysical theories and the philosophy developing from them. This reliance is mentioned by his editors in the Prolegomena to his *Summa*,<sup>4</sup> and is stressed by Alexander himself when he says that it is better to believe Augustine and Anselm than Aristotle.<sup>5</sup>

The Irrefragable Doctor attempts to follow faithfully the teaching of St. Augustine regarding man's knowledge *in via*,<sup>6</sup> maintaining that cognition of God is so impressed on the rational mind and its evidence shines forth so strongly, that the existence of the First

1. Maurice de Wulf, *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale*, 6th ed., II, 20. Les premiers maîtres dominicains furent Roland de Crémone et Jean de S. Gilles; le premier franciscain fut Alexandre de Halès.

*Ibid.*, p. 104: Alexandre de Halès est le chef de file d'une longue série de théologiens-philosophes qui enseignèrent à l'université, en qualité de titulaires d'une chaire franciscaine.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 105: ... et la compilation inscrite sous le nom d'Alexandre put s'appeler la *Summa Minorum*, ou la Somme des franciscains.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 106: Il utilise presque toute l'œuvre philosophique d'Aristote, dont le crédit, vers 1231, commençait à monter, et il n'a pas peu contribué à son succès décisif, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de critiquer Aristote, et de l'abandonner sur des questions importantes... En même temps, il réserve une place prépondérante à nombre de théories platoniciennes et augustiniennes provenant de la scolastique du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

4. Alexander of Hales, *Summa Theologica*, (Ad Claras Aquas, Quaracchi. MCMXXVIII). The references throughout are to the book, number, tome and page. Alexander Halensis in conscribenda Summa Theologica doctrinas philosophicas et theologicas a S. Augustino, S. Anselmo et schola Sancti Victoris, praecipue excogitatas et iam in academiis Medii Aevi usu receptas, fidelissime amplectitur. (t.I, p. xxviii).

5. Dico quod plus credendum est Augustino et Anselmo quam Philosopho (pp. xxxix-xl).

6. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Videndo Deo*, *Epist.* 147. c. 3, n. 8 (PL 33,600): *Ibid.*, cc. 2, 16, nn. 7, 38 (PL 33, 599, 613). I, n.14; t.I, p.23. *Vide*, Alex. of Hales, *Summa Theol.*, I, 14; t.I, p.33.

Being, even without the influence of grace, cannot remain unknown.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, maintaining the stress laid by St. Augustine on the dignity of the human soul,<sup>8</sup> Hales rejects the Neo-Platonic and Arabian position that between the human soul and its God, there are several beings interposed, or that there are intermediary intelligences needed.<sup>9</sup> Besides these doctrines, there is also a treatment of knowledge in the eternal reasons, as well as an attempt to reconcile Augustinian and Aristotelian philosophy.<sup>10</sup>

Taking as the three principal methods of dividing the *intellectus humanus*, the methods of St. Augustine, Aristotle and Damascene, Hales considers that that of St. Augustine is superior to the other two. Augustine has given a division into *ratio*, *intellectus*, and *intelligentia*.<sup>11</sup> This division of the mind acceptable to Hales is the one to which at least the terms, if not the meanings of the terms, of the Aristotelian division will be subordinated and applied.

The Philosopher's division is that of material, possible and agent intellect. The material intellect knows the species in the phantasms, and the separable possible intellect knows the species abstracted by the agent intellect.<sup>12</sup> Blessed John Damascene's division divides the soul into intellect, mind, and opinion, besides sense and imagination.<sup>13</sup> Damascene explains that from sense there arises the passion or property, which is called imagination. From imagination, there arises opinion. Then the mind making a decision regarding opinion, judges truth, whence the faculty of judging, because it decides, knows and judges, is called mind.<sup>14</sup>

7. Alexander Halensis docet quod cognitio Dei in mente rationali ita impressa est ac tanta evidentia fulget ut existentia Entis Primi, etiam gratia non influente, ignorari non potest... (Summa Theol., I, Prol., p. xxxi).

8. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Vera Relig.* C. 55, n. 113 (PL 34, 172); *De Gen. ad Lit.*, n. 60 (PL 34, 243); 83 *Quaestionum*, q. 51, nn. 2 et 4 (PL 40, 33).

9. Cf. *Summa Theol.*, I, n.20, ad 3; t.I, p.31.

10. De Wuff, *loc. cit.*, p. 108: En psychologie, Alexandre tente de fusionner les doctrines d'Aristote et d'Augustin.

11. De prima divisione Augustini: Ratio, Intellectus, Intelligentia... Cf. II, n.370; t.II, p.449.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 446: Philosophus vero dividit in intellectum materiale, qui cognoscit species in phantasmatibus, et intellectum possibilem separabilem, qui cognoscit species abstractas, et intellectum agentem. Cf. *De Anima*, III, 5.

13. Secundum Ioannem Damascenum dividitur in intellectum, mentem, et opinionem: has enim enumerat cognitivas praeter sensum et imaginationem... II, ante 368; t. II, p. 446.

14. Unde dicit quod "per sensum animae constituitur passio quae dicitur imaginatio, ex imaginatione vero fit opinio, deinde mens diudicans opinionem, sive vera sit sive falsa, iudicat veritatem; unde mens a metiendo et ex cogitando et iudicando dicitur; quod autem diudicatum et determinatum est, recte dicitur intellectus... II, ante 368; t. II, p. 446.

These three divisions are not identical with one another. Each differs, because the point of view from which each is determined is different. Augustine's division is made according to differences of intelligible forms, whether these forms be of the composite or the complex, that is, whether those forms be of the spirit separated or the spirit separable from the organic body. Damascene's division concerns the differences of these same beings as they are comprehended under the condition of composition or complexity. Therefore, neither of these divisions is reducible to the other.<sup>15</sup>

Further, the *intellectus* of the Augustinian division is not understood in the same way as the *intellectus* of Damascene. The intellect described by St. Augustine is a cognitive power of separated created forms i.e. of angels, even without complexity, (that is, without corporeal matter); whereas the intellect described by Damascene is understood as being the cognitive power by which determined truth is known by means of a pre-judgment of the mind belonging to creatures composed of matter and form.<sup>16</sup> Hence, we are to conclude that intellect as defined by Augustine is broader in application, for, whereas Damascene defines the faculty of a being which knows both the spiritual and the spiritual conjoined to matter, Augustine defines the faculty of not only such a being, but also of being which is by its nature wholly separable from body and the conditions of body.

In these same divisions, mind (*mens*) does not have the same meaning. According to St. Augustine, mind is the supreme faculty of the soul; but according to Damascene it is merely a power for discerning truth from falsity.<sup>17</sup> Nor does the term 'intelligence' connote the same thing for these two philosophers. Augustine teaches that intelligence is the highest power of the soul extending

15. Sed Contra, b. Praeterea, divisio Augustini videtur esse secundum differentias formarum intelligibilium sine compositione vel complexione, divisio vero Ioannis Damasceni secundum differentias earum in quantum cum compositione vel complexione accipiuntur; ergo neutra est ad alteram reducibilis... II, n.368; t.II, p.447.

16. Ad primum, quod intellectus in divisione Augustini non est secundum eundem modum acceptus secundum quem in divisione Ioannis Damasceni. Nam intellectus, secundum Augustinum, est vis cognoscitiva formarum creaturarum separatarum ut sine complexione; intellectus autem, secundum Ioannem Damascenum, in quantum cognoscitur veritas determinata in complexionibus ex iudicio mentis praeambule... II, n. 368, ad 1; t. II, p. 448.

17. Similiter nec mens utroque similiter accipitur. Nam non est mens secundum Ioannem Damascenum idem quod mens secundum Augustinum, supremum in anima, sed est via diudicans ad discernendum veritatem a falsitate... II, n. 368, ad. 1; t. II, p. 448.



itself to the contemplation of God.<sup>18</sup> For Damascene, it is the power which understands truth with the certitude of truth.<sup>19</sup> Lastly, the Augustinian term *ratio* is not to be equated with Damascene's *opinio*, for *ratio* is the power which through cognition attains to the forms abstracted from bodies and the accidents of bodies.<sup>20</sup>

Thus St. Augustine's division is not reducible to Damascene's, nor is Damascene's reducible to Augustine's. Damascene's explains the progress of reason from the habit of principles or principles to the habit of conclusions.<sup>21</sup> Augustine's explains knowledge of the external world by means of *ratio*, knowledge of the divine by *intelligentia*, and knowledge of the uncreated and the created, as well as knowledge by the created world of spirits, by the *intellectus*.<sup>22</sup> Now Damascene's is not contrary to Augustine's; yet it is not the same as Augustine's. Rather, his treating of truth obtained of intelligible forms by beings of mixed or complex natures, that is by corporeal beings endowed with reason,<sup>23</sup> is contained in St. Augustine's, which treats of the cognitive faculty of spiritual beings in general.

18. Unde non est idem quod intelligentia, quae est, secundum Augustinum, via suprema extendens se ad Dei contemplationem... II, n. 368, ad I; t. II, p. 448.

19. Solutio: Est enim accipere verum cum quadam admixtione falsitatis, et sic dicitur opinio, vel cum discretionem veritatis a falsitate, et sic est mentis, vel cum certitudine veritatis, et sic dicitur intellectus... II, n. 368; II, p. 448.

20. Nec opinio est idem quod ratio; nihilominus tamen secundum quod ratio attingit complexiones, sic dicitur opinio esse in ratione... ratio vero secundum primam divisionem Augustini, est via quae attingit per cognitionem formas abstractas a corporibus et corporum accidentibus... II, n. 368; II, p. 448.

21. Aliae vero differentiae, quas ponit Damascenus, attenduntur secundum progressum intellectus sive rationis ab habitu principii vel principiorum ad habitum conclusionis. II, n. 380, ad 3; t. II, p. 459.

22. *Sed contra hoc est*: quod Augustinus ita ponit differentias: rationis, intellectus, intelligentiae, ut ratio comprehendat corporum naturas, intellectus spiritum creatum, intelligentia spiritum increatum; quare actus intellectus est post actum rationis et ante actum intelligentiae. II, n. 368; t. II, p. 447.

In ad primum: ratio vero, secundum primam divisionem Augustini, est vis quae attingit per cognitionem formas abstractas a corporibus et corporum accidentibus... II, n. 368, ad I; t. II, p. 448.

Num intellectus, secundum Augustinum, est vis cognitiva formarum creaturarum separatarum ut sine complexione... intelligentia, quae est, via suprema extendens ad Dei contemplationem. Solutio: Intellectus vero ponit cognoscitivum angelorum, daemonum, animarum et omnis spiritus creati; ex quo patet quod loquitur de intelligibilibus quae sunt iuxta animam rationalem... II, n. 370; t. II, p. 450. Solutio ad finem: ratio vero est circa formas intelligibiles inventas in rebus sensibilibus; intellectus autem formarum intelligibilium creaturarum separatarum a sensibilibus; intelligentia vero divinorum... II, n. 377; t. II, p. 456.

23. Aliae vero divisiones respiciunt veritatem formarum intelligibilium in complexione entium... II, n. 368; t. II, p. 448 (*Sol.*).



Now, let us consider the relation between Augustine and Aristotle. It cannot be maintained that the threefold division offered by Aristotle corresponds to the three differences of powers maintained by Augustine. Augustine's division is distinguished according to different intelligibles into grades of greater or less nobility or spirituality. What this means is understood when we consider that the uncreated intelligible is nobler than the created; and that among created intelligibles, that which is separated from corporeal forms is nobler than that conjoined to such forms. It is upon differences of intelligibility or nobility that Augustine divides.<sup>24</sup> But Aristotle's division has to do with differences arising from the functions of one power of abstracting. Hence the power described by Aristotle is constituted for abstraction, and it is thus an abstracting power and a power comprehending the abstracted forms. From this it is clear that the differences of intelligibility assigned in the Philosopher's division are regarded from a comparison to abstractible forms, whereas Augustine's, in treating of the intelligibles *qua* abstractibles and of intelligibles *qua* intelligibles, takes into account those of the Philosopher and more.<sup>25</sup>

In order that we may have a clearer notion of the differences between the Augustinian and the Aristotelian divisions, let us consider the relations between the *intellectus* and abstraction. Abstraction is concerned with abstractible intelligibles. Hence, there cannot be abstraction as such of the form of the angelic intelligence, of the forms of the sciences, or of the forms of the virtues which are in the soul. The limitation of abstraction to abstractible intelligibles marks the limitation of the Aristotelian intellect; the Augustinian intellect (*intellectus*), on the other hand, is not hemmed in by the boundaries of abstractible intelligibles, but is free to con-

24. See notes 16, 17 and 18. Cf. *Ibid.* II, n.278,-9,-80; t. II, pp. 457-459.

25. Si vero disceret quis quod intellectus sub iis tribus differentiis responderet tribus differentiis virium quae ponuntur ab Augustino, hoc non est verum. Num illae tres differentiae, quas ponit Augustinus, distinguuntur secundum intelligibilia differentia in nobilitate maiori vel minori: nobilius enim est intelligibile increatum quam creatum, intelligibile vero creatum separatum a formis corporalibus quam illud quod est in corporibus. Differentiae vero positae a Philosopho attenduntur secundum differentias omnium ad abstractionem pertinentium: est enim vis habens ea a quibus fit abstractio et est vis abstrahens et est vis formas abstractas comprehendens, et ita differentiae intelligibilium, assignatorum a Philosopho, attenduntur secundum comparisonem ad formas abstractibiles, differentia vero Augustini ad formas has et alias; non ergo secundum unum modum accipiuntur... II, n. 368; t. II, p. 447.

sider the whole range of intelligibles as well as abstractible intelligibles.<sup>26</sup>

There is still another difference between these divisions. Augustine has posited *ratio* (reason), by which man judges of those things external to him. *Ratio* includes both the material intellect and the possible intellect which Aristotle has assigned to the rational creature. Thus *ratio* for St. Augustine, or the material and the possible intellect for Aristotle, knows intelligible forms as they were accepted into the phantasms, or as they are accepted from the phantasm.<sup>27</sup> Thus, because the rational creature, according to the Philosopher's division, must accept the species abstracted by the agent intellect from the phantasm<sup>28</sup> and because separated intelligible forms are by no means abstractible, the possible intellect can never receive knowledge of such separated intelligible forms from the agent intellect.<sup>29</sup> In this case, too, the limitations imposed on the rational soul by Aristotle's theory of abstraction are evident. In the division proffered by Augustine there is no such limitation, because Augustine clearly maintains that the mind, even when considering itself, considers a spiritual being, nobler than the body which it inhabits; that the mind goes above itself, to that beyond itself and that is God.<sup>30</sup>

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26. Ad illud quod obicitur de divisione Philosophi respectu divisionis primae quam ponit Augustinus, dicendum quod non similiter accipitur in utraque divisione. Nam abstractio non currit secundum formas secundum se abstractas, sicut est forma intelligentiae angelicae, vel circa formas scientiarum aut virtutum quae sunt in anima, sed circa formas intelligibiles abstractibiles. Et propter hoc, cum intellectus in divisione Augustini accipitur circa formas secundum se abstractas, in divisione vero Philosophi formas abstractibiles, patet quod non similiter accipitur intellectus utrobique... II, n. 368; t. II, ad II, 1-2, p. 448.

27. *Ibid.* In divisione ergo Augustino ratio continebat intellectum materiale et possibilem prout cognoscunt formas intelligibiles vel in phantasmatis vel a phantasmatis acceptas.

28. *Ibid.* Intellectus autem duplicem habet actum: Habet enim unum actum respectu formarum abstrahendarum, et ille est abstrahere...

29. *Ibid.* intellectus vero possibilis nihilominus recipiet cognitionem ab agente a parte altera, scilicet formarum intelligibilium separatarum.

30. *Ibid.* ad I, 1: Unde non est idem quod intelligentia, quae est, secundum Augustinum, vis suprema extendens se ad Dei contemplationem. Cf. Cum autem dicitur quod "intelligentia immediate supponitur Deo," loquitur de eo quod est supra animam rationalem. Ea vero quae sunt intra, sicut sunt scientiae et virtutes et quod ipsa anima se ipsam cognoscit, quia non est necesse similitudines alias ab intelligibilibus pervenire ad intellectum, ideo non computantur in vi separata, sed cognoscuntur a vi in qua nata sunt esse, cum enim anima ipsam scientiam vel artem habeat apud se, quae necessitas est habere similitudinem separatam ab intelligibili? Sed in aliis rebus intelligibilibus oportet habere similitudinem, quia intellectus iuvetur ad hoc quod intelligibile fiat actu intellectum... II, n. 370; t. II, p. 450 (III, Solutio).

Having determined that the traditional division of St. Augustine is superior to that of both Damascene and Aristotle, knowing that it is different from the innovative division of Aristotle, but at the same time that the Aristotelian division is one not to be treated lightly, Hales pays close attention to the Augustinian and the Aristotelian systems and their relations to each other as they describe the powers of the rational soul. Our Franciscan realized that the intelligent creature endowed with sense powers needed abstraction. It was, therefore, necessary to accept the Aristotelian division into material, possible, and agent intellect.<sup>31</sup> At the same time Christian philosophy and Christian dogma taught that there are beings for the knowledge of which abstraction was not needed, indeed, would not suffice.<sup>32</sup> This truth demanded a theory of knowledge which would explain knowledge of these separated beings. Such a theory had been formulated by St. Augustine and had been accepted by Christians back through the centuries up to Alexander's time: this was the divine illumination theory. Now, in order to achieve a synthesis between two systems arising from differing cultures, and in order to explain adequately the knowledge had by the rational creature, a definite problem concerning the agent intellect presents itself. What is the part played by the intellect in abstraction, and what is the rôle assigned to it by a theory holding to illumination abstraction? To solve this problem in the terms of Alexander, let us study the Aristotelian divisions as they are handled by Alexander.

The first of the Aristotelian divisions to be considered by Hales is that of the material intellect.<sup>33</sup> This intellect possesses the sensible species in the phantasm,<sup>34</sup> where preparation for further spiritualization of the species takes place. The intelligible species, therefore, is not immediately taken up by the agent intellect, when the object of intellection exterior to the knowing soul is first presented.

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31. See note 12; sed quia istae (i. e. quae sunt sine materia) non indigent abstractione ad hoc ut intelligantur, aliae vero indigent... II, n. 368, II, 1-2; t. II, p. 448.

32. *ut supra*.

33. II, n. 371; t. II, pp. 450-1.

34. Intellectus vero materialis habet species in phantasmatis quas possibile est abstrahi per intellectum agentum, ut uniantur cum possibili... II, n. 371: Sol.; t. II, p. 451.

The first 'degree of abstraction' must take place in the senses,<sup>35</sup> after which the 'higher degrees' occur. Hales concludes that, therefore, it is necessary to admit a material intellect.<sup>36</sup>

This intellect alone is not sufficient for the perfection of man, as it is for the perfection of the brute. The brute has the material intellect, not as a 'lower possibility' to a nobler perfection, but as a perfection itself. As regards the rational soul, however, we must hold that the material intellect is a 'lower possibility,' which, when realized, leads to a nobler perfection.<sup>37</sup>

The acceptance, so far, of divisions of the intellect, and the acceptance of a material intellect itself not sufficient to perfect man, is expressive of a plurality of powers of the soul. The material intellect, since it is so closely allied to that of the brute, seems to be concerned with things of a material and a perishable order. It can be felt, although it has not been expressed, that this intellect is not the only intellect possessed by man, for in a teleologically governed universe every creature must reach its end, that is what is perfective of the creature. Now the rational creature's perfection is, evidently, knowledge, and the material intellect being but a 'lower possibility,' the soul must have more than one power. Thus, it is clear why the material intellect is but, as it were, a stepping stone to further perfection.

Before delving into the explanations concerning a possible intellect, Alexander first shows us its place in the hierarchy of intellects in the rational soul. The possible intellect has present to it the form which is an essential of the soul itself, and in this it

35. Vires enim sensibiles praeparant formam intelligibilem ut sit conveniens abstractioni, intellectus vero agens actu abstrahit eam... II, n. 372; t. II, p. 452, ad 2.

36. Sic ergo necesse fuit ponere intellectum materiale... II, n. 371; t. II, p. 450.

37. Ad quod dicendum quod ille intellectus materialis, de quo loquitur Commentator, qui habet species in phantasmatibus, in hoc differt a phantasia quod phantasia habet phantasmata, non ut possibilia ulterius ad actum alicuius potentiae intellectivae; sic enim est in brutis; bruta enim habent hanc vim tamquam perfectionem, non ut possibilem ulterius ad nobiliorem perfectionem. Unde, sicut sensus brutalis non dicitur universalis neque per se neque per accidens sed solum singularis, sensus vero humanus est utriusque, scilicet universalis et singularis, ita contingit in vi interiori ut sit phantastica habens phantasmata secundum quod huiusmodi, non ut possibilia ad species abstrahendas ab intellectu; intellectus vero materialis habet species in phantasmatibus, quae possibile est abstrahi per intellectum agentem, ut uniantur cum possibili. Sic ergo necesse fuit ponere intellectum materiale... *ibid.*



differs from prime matter. It is like prime matter in that it has the possibility to forms and species in knowledge.<sup>38</sup>

It is not to be supposed, however, that this is an intellective part of the soul similar to the intellective faculty of the angel. The angel has a possible intellect only in the sense that it is receptive of illumination from on high. That intellective part of the soul which is joined to the sensible part of man is called possible inasmuch as it may be actuated through the medium of the sense operations.<sup>39</sup> It holds, then, a position between the material intellect and the possible intellect.

The operation proper to the possible intellect is that of taking up the intelligible forms abstracted from the sensible species in the phantasms, or as Hales calls it, the material intellect.<sup>40</sup> The possible intellect, so-called because it is in potency to knowing,<sup>41</sup> does not *de se* take up the species from the phantasm. This is clear from what Aristotle has taught, for he says that nothing is educed from a material potency to act unless by that which is already in act. Now, the possible intellect in its own genus is regarded as a material potency. Therefore, it must be reduced to act by that which is already in act. Thus, in the rational soul, the possible intellect is

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38. Utrum sit intellectus possibilis? Solutio: ad quod dicendum quod anima rationalis habet intellectum possibilem tamquam unam sui differentiam in cognoscendo... II, n. 375; t. II, p. 453. *Ibidem*. ad 2: Ad secundum vero dicendum quod non est simile de materia prima omnino et de anima rationali quoad hoc habet rationalis intellectum possibilem. In hoc autem est simile quod, sicut materia prima est possibilis respectu formarum in esse, ita intellectus possibilis possibilitatem habet respectu formarum sive specierum in cognitione. In hoc autem est dissimilitudo quod materia prima nullam habet formam de se praeter ipsam capacitatem; intellectus autem possibilis habet aliquam, quia ipsam formam essentialem ipsius animae, quae est aliquid in se: unde materia prima non reflectitur super se.

39. *Ibid.* n. 372, p. 452, ad 2: dicendum quod non est simile de parte intellectiva animae et parte intellectiva angeli. Haec enim quae est in angelo, separata est a parte sensibili: unde non habet possibilem nisi dicatur possibilis, id est receptibilis illuminationum a Summo, sed habet partem sibi sufficientem ad cognoscendum ea quae nondum sunt cognita ab ea. Pars ergo intellectiva in anima quae coniuncta est parti sensibili, ex illa parte est possibilis et sufficientiam habet ex agente et viribus preambulis sensibilibus, ut educatur de potentia ad actum. Vires enim sensibiles praeparant formam intelligibilem ut sit conveniens abstractioni, intellectus vero agens actu abstrahit eam et unit cum possibili. Sic ergo completur intellectus possibilis in receptione specierum intelligibilium a phantasmate abstractorum... II, n. 372; t. II, 452, ad 2.

40. Intellectus vero materialis habet species in phantasmatibus quae possibile est abstrahi per intellectum agentem, ut uniantur cum possibili... II, n. 371; t. II, p. 451. Sed cum intellectus possibilis, de quo loquitur Philosophus, accipit formas simplices abstractas a phantasmatibus... II, n. 368; ad 3; t. II, p. 448.

41. Altera vero, scilicet possibilis est ex parte suae materiae, qua est potentia ens respectu cognoscibilium quae fiunt in ea... II, n. 372; t. II, p. 452 (*Sol.*).

reduced from its potentiality by the active power of the soul, the agent intellect.<sup>42</sup> It is as regards the possible intellect's being brought from its potency to the intellectual act of union with the intelligible species that there is a need for the agent intellect.<sup>43</sup> In this way the intellectual part of the soul, conjoined to the sensible powers which prepare the intelligible forms for abstraction, is joined to these preparatory virtues and suffices to make the possible intellect pass from the potency of knowing to the actuality of knowing. And so, the possible intellect and the agent intellect are two different powers in the soul, which are related to its constitutive principles, matter and form.<sup>44</sup>

In virtue of their being principles, it is said that the agent intellect issues from the form of the soul, and by reason of its form the soul is understood to be spirit; the possible intellect issues from the matter of the soul, and by reason of this the soul is understood to be in potency to knowables.<sup>45</sup> The soul, then, despite its spiritual nature, is not exempt from the universal law binding the creature to the creator, for it is, as is every article of creation, a composite of matter and form.

In the treatment of the intellect by Alexander the commingling of Augustinian and Aristotelian terms is obvious. The agent intellect, which for both Alexander and Aristotle is more remote from matter than the material or possible intellects, is not simply more abstract, but it is that by which the rational soul is 'spiritus.' The possible intellect, closer than the agent to material conditions, is not potential by reason of proximity. It is 'possible' because it is in potency to the intelligible object. Those who would say that it is a possible intellect only in virtue of its being conjoined to the body are in error, for the rational soul in the next life has an *intellectus agens et possibilis*, just as has the rational soul in this life, and

42. Quae autem sit necessitas ponere has duas differentias, habetur a Philosopho. 1. Dicit enim quod nihil educitur de potentia materiali in actum, nisi per id quod est in actu; sed intellectus possibilis dicitur possibilis in suo genere potentia materiali; non ergo educitur in actum nisi per id quod est in actu; illud autem est potentia agens; erunt ergo duae differentiae. II, n. 372, art. II; t. II, p. 451.

43. See notes 38, 39, 40.

44. Solutio: Ad quod potest dici quod intellectus agens et intellectus possibilis sunt duae differentiae in anima rationali, quarum una scilicet, intellectus agens, est ex parte formae ipsius animae, secundum quod est spiritus, altera vero, scilicet possibilis, est ex parte suae materiae, qua est potentia ens respectu cognoscibilium quae fiunt in ea... II, n. 372; t. II, p. 452. See note 39, lines 7-18.

45. Cf. supra.

verily, *in patria* there is separation from and not conjunction with a body. Possibility means simply a potency to know.<sup>46</sup>

The work performed by the agent intellect is that of abstracting the sensible species from the phantasm. The nature of its work is determined by the nature conferred upon it. Now, the nature of the agent intellect is such that it has within itself a certain natural light, in virtue of which it is in act with regard to intelligibles. This it has from the very beginning, since it is an immaterial substance separated essentially from the body.<sup>47</sup> Thus although the agent intellect is conjoined to the body, it is separated from it, and is above the body's activities; whereas the possible intellect is simply separable, but not separated, from the body. In this matter of speaking, the rational soul knows the species abstracted from the phantasm, which manner of knowing is a medium between knowing in the phantasm and knowing species in every way separated from the phantasm.<sup>48</sup>

Because it has within itself this certain natural light, the agent intellect is called a spirit. But spirit is that which is above the mind, *super mentem*.<sup>49</sup> Now, since some intelligibles are super-mental, might not knowledge be had because of a super-mental agent? Alexander says that the agent is said to be in act, not because it knows all forms from the beginning, but because it is illuminated by the First Agent. This illumination is given, not as

46. Respondeo: Ex illa vero parte qua habet hanc perfectionem cognoscibilem ad quamdam similitudinem Primi, ex illa est intellectus agens; quae pars, cum obviaverit formae intelligibili in phantasmate existenti, abstrahit eam ut sit actu intellecta, et ex illa parte quam nondum habet anima illas formas intelligibiles, dicitur intellectus possibilis... II, n. 372; t. II, p. 452.

47. Intellectus vero agens actu abstrahit eam et unit cum possibili... II, n. 372; t. II, p. 452 ad 2. See notes 40 and 37. *Ibid.*: Solutio: Nec oportet ponere intellectum agentem separatum in substantia ab ipsa anima, sicut lux in sensu separata est in substantia ab ipso sensitivo. Est enim spiritus in se habens lumen quoddam naturale, ratione cuius habet actum intelligibilem, a principio scilicet creationis, ex parte scilicet illa qua est substantia immaterialis secundum se separata, licet ex alia parte corpori sit coniungibilis.

48. Et ad primum primo. Licet enim non sit intellectus possibilis ut forma separata a materia, est tamen separabilis; differentiae autem illae 'separatum' et 'coniunctum' sunt formarum in esse; sed secundum rationem sunt hae differentiae 'separata, coniuncta, separabilis et coniungibilis,' et hoc modo se habet intellectus possibilis animae ut separabilis et coniungibilis, et ideo intelligere proportionale medium est inter intelligere speciem in phantasmate et speciem omnino separatum, et hoc est intelligere speciem abstractam a phantasmate... II, n. 374, ad 1; t. II, p. 454.

49. Respondeo: Respondeo quod sensus spiritualis fundatur in natura spirituali, quia spiritus est super mentem, scilicet secundum quod anima secundum intellectum dicitur spiritus, non in natura spirituali per gratiam vel per gloriam... *Ibid.* n. 381; p. 460.



regards all forms, but only as regards certain forms, and when it (the created agent intellect) is illuminated, it perfects the possible intellect in that way — that is, as regards these given forms. Therefore, it is not necessary that the agent intellect be a power above the soul.<sup>50</sup>

What does Alexander mean when he says that the agent intellect is illuminated as regards certain forms? Evidently, he means that the agent intellect, being the power of a limited intelligence is itself limited. Now, why is the agent intellect limited in respect to some forms, or why is it not illuminated in respect to all forms? Are we to conclude that the angel could influence or move the human soul in its cognitive acts? It seems not, for the interposition of any creature between God and the rational soul is not to be admitted. In fact, such a possibility is expressly denied by Hales.<sup>51</sup>

If the human agent intellect is illuminated as regards some form and no intermediary nature is allowed to illuminate it as regards other forms, should it then be said that it, or that God, is the agent intellect as regards those other forms? It is not easy to answer this question. The agent intellect, as part of the rational soul, is limited to the conferring of some forms only upon the possible intellect; but we must bear in mind that Alexander has averred that it is not necessary to posit a power super-mental in nature nor an agent intellect separated from the soul substantially.<sup>52</sup> Then, it might be said that the Irrefragable Doctor holds that there are agent intellects, (and in the light of this, the question asking: what is left to human agent intellect? is answered), and one uncreated agent intellect, God, (and then the question has not been answered).

If divine intervention is to be granted in the system of Hales, we are able to gather some notion of the nature of this intervention

50. *Ibid.* Ad id vero quod obicitur quod aliqua intelligibilia sunt supra intellectum et ita oportet quod cognitio fiat per agentem qui est supra intellectum: dicendum est quod agens non dicitur esse actu, quia omnes formas a principio intelligit, sed ab agente primo illuminatur, et iam non respectu omnium, sed respectu quarundam formarum, et cum illuminatus perficit etiam possibilem illo modo... II, n.372; t. II, p.452 ad 1.

51. *Ibid.* Dicit Augustinus quod nulla est interposita natura inter mentem et Deum, ut scilicet sit aliqua substantia intellectualis velut angelus, per quam formetur et perficiatur ipsa mens, quemadmodum philosophi mentiti sunt, dicentes intelligentiam humanam educi in actum et perfici per intelligentiam angelicam... I, n. 20; ad 3; t.I, p.31.

52. See notes 50 and 51; also 47, 1.4 ff.



from Hales' use of the classic analogy of light and the sense of sight. He tells us that light is the effective cause of vision, but remains unknown to us in its own nature as such. Analogously, the external light of the uncreated agent intellect is the effective cause of our intellectual vision, but it in itself remains unknown to the rational creature and is known only in its reflections in the intelligible objects of creation.<sup>53</sup> This is all we can conclude from the texts of Alexander, and it is all we may conclude without perverting or changing the doctrine of Alexander. The question whether God is the immediate First Agent Intellect in our knowing, or whether he is immediate in the sense that every agent intellect must be first enlightened as regards only certain forms, is an open one.

For a reason other than that intelligibles are super-mental some have held that the agent intellect is separated *secundum esse et substantiam* from the possible intellect. They argue that just as in sense knowledge, the sense is not perfective of itself, because the sense needs light, both interior and exterior, so in intellectual knowledge the rational soul needs light which is interior and exterior to it, so that the potentially intelligible becomes the actually intelligible.<sup>54</sup> This is the question brought into philosophy by the Arabs.

Without mentioning any names, Alexander rejects this position. This analogy, that as in sensation the illuminative light is outside the sense of sight and separated from it, so in intellection the illuminative light is outside of and separated from the possible intellect, does not carry. It is not necessary that the agent be a separated substance, for the soul, as has been said, is a spirit having within itself a certain natural light from the creative principle.<sup>55</sup> Further, Alexander says, God being the First Light and the soul being His similitude, it is reasonable that the soul's light be a natural light,

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53. Videtur lux se ipsa effective, non tamen seipsa materialiter, hoc est in seipsa, id est in sua spiritualitate et absolute naturae suae, sed in alia, ut in aere, vel colore. Eodem modo lux aeterna in praesenti videtur seipsa, non tamen in se ipsa, sed in creatura, quae est quasi medium materiale deferens ipsam lucem ad intellectum... I, n.20: ad 1; t.I, p.31.

54. *Ibid.* Praeterea, sensus non se ipsum perficit in sentiendo, sed indiget luce interiori et exteriori; ergo nec intellectus similiter; erit ergo unum aliquid in anima quod est per modum lucis, ut sicut lux potentia-colores facit actu sentiri, ita quid in anima quod potentia-intelligibilia perducit ad hoc ut actu intelligantur ab intellectu possibili... II, n.372: sect. I; t.II, p.451.

55. See note 47.

for the Creator would not fashion the rational soul to His own image unless he would give it some perfection as regards knowing.<sup>56</sup>

Hence, because the perfection proper to the intellective soul is intellection, since the soul has in it from creation an activity by which it achieves its own perfection (Alexander seemingly implies here that secondary causes are efficient in their own order of secondary causality), and because the intellective soul is the image of God<sup>57</sup> and a deflector of the eternal light to the human intellect<sup>58</sup>, Alexander will not accept the Jewish and Arabian interpretations of the Philosopher.

Alexander has taken into his system the tradition of Augustine and fused it with Aristotelianism. The reason for retaining Aristotelian terms in Augustinian metaphysics is seen in Hales' meaning of the word 'separatum.' Analysis of this term reveals that *separatum* may pertain to that 'separated in act,' and this means the soul; or 'that separated in intention,' and this does not belong to the rational soul, for the rational soul has an intention to the body.<sup>59</sup> This twofold meaning of *separatum* suggests the twofold activity of the Aristotelian intellect.<sup>60</sup> The first activity of the intellect is abstraction which is made necessary by the soul's intention to the body. The other activity is that which the intellect exercises as regards knowledge of separated forms which the soul has by reason of its being separated in act from the body.

Hales found it essential then, to retain the Aristotelian division as an explanation of knowledge had by way of sense experience. Aristotle *qua* Aristotle, however, could not be incorporated into his system of thought, for he found the Philosopher's division incomplete. The Augustinian division, being complete, offered a

56. ...non enim videtur quod ita condiderit animam rationalem ad imaginem suam quin ei dederit perfectionem aliquam respectu cognoscibilium... II, n.371: Solutio; t.II, p.452.

57. Abundat autem anima rationalis in hoc quod est imago Dei secundum hoc quod sicut Deus movet et gubernat universum, sic et anima movet et gubernat suum universum... II, n.337: Resp. 2-3; t.II, p.410.

58. See note 53.

59. Ad quantum dicendum quod, licet anima, esset separata, nihilominus hac differentia essentialiter distingueretur, quia 'separatum' dicitur dupliciter: quod actu est separatum, et hoc modo non differunt; vel quod est separatum per intentionem: hoc modo non est anima separata, quia intentionem quamdam habet ad corpus, sicut dicit Augustinus... II, n.112; ad 4; t.II, p.151.

60. Intellectus autem agens duplicem habet actum: habet enim unum actum in respectu formarum abstrahendarum, et ille est abstrahere; habet alium respectu formarum secundum se sive separatum... II, n.368: ad II, 1-2; t.II, p.448.

satisfactory explanation of intellective powers and knowledge. The Aristotelian division pertains only to those forms which enter into knowledge by way of abstraction from the sense phantasm, whereas Augustine's division pertains to these forms and also to those forms entering into their knowledge by way of simple intelligible forms.<sup>61</sup> Augustine's division accounts for knowledge had of beings not only separable, but also separated, from bodies and from the conditions of bodies, and is thus a satisfactory explanation of knowledge, whether it be knowledge of the corporeal world, of created spirits, or of God and the eternal reasons; but the Philosopher's division accounts for knowledge had of that part of nature conjoined to bodies and to the conditions of bodies.

With a grand sweep Alexander cleared away the problem of the separated intellect, but with more labor and difficulty he combined the "novel" doctrines of Aristotle with the traditional ones of Augustine. By combining these he was able to say that Augustine had given an account of Divine Light and created images (or created lights) and that Aristotle had given an account of a First Agent Intellect and created agent intellects. Hales seems to have taken the position that the agent intellect, *pars animae*, is of the soul itself, is created from nothing, and is, therefore, not from or of the substance of God.<sup>62</sup> Reluctant to abandon Augustine and tradition, Hales foists upon the illumination theory Aristotelian abstraction, so that that power which in Aristotelian terms is an abstractive power and in Augustinian is an illuminative one, in terms of Hales is an illuminative-abstractive power. The source of this power which the created agent intellect manifests is the Light whose image it is, the Light after which it is fashioned, the Light which fashioned it in creation. Nevertheless, because the soul is thus fashioned and is an image of the Divine Light, it is not to be concluded that the created agent knows immediately the First Agent Intellect. What must be said is that the soul *in via* cannot know God save through a medium.<sup>63</sup>

61. Ut supra.

62. Solutio: Ad quod dicendum quod anima non est de Deo, sed est creata de nihilo, sicut habetur ab Augustino et aliis Sanctis in pluribus locis Sacrae Scripturae... II, n.322: Sol.; t.II, p.390.

63. See note 53. Respondeo: In praesenti non est cognoscere Deum sine medio. Utrum autem in futuro possit cognosci sine medio aliquo, alias inquiretur... I, n.20; t.I, p.31.

Finding both a distinction and a harmony between tradition and innovation, this Franciscan Master attempted and achieved to his own satisfaction, a synthesis of Augustinian metaphysics and Aristotelian terminology. Alexander's own doctrine is an account of a multiplicity of illuminations from one Light, of a multiplicity of agent intellects from one Agent Intellect, of agent intellects illuminated by the First, and of agent intellects illuminative of possible intellects because of their illumination by the First.

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# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ALEXANDER OF HALES

## INTRODUCTION

In contributing the following Bibliography on Alexander of Hales, it may be well to mention that it is not meant as either exhaustive or complete in every respect. However, the compiler has assembled as many of the references as have come to his attention, and has used all the facilities at his disposal to check and verify as many as possible of the items listed.

This Bibliography is not intended to settle any problems in the fields of Theology, Philosophy, Paleography, Textual Criticism or kindred sciences. Many of the questions and problems concerning the authorship and authenticity of various works attributed to Alexander of Hales, have already claimed the attention of many scholars, as will be seen throughout.

The Bibliography is divided into four categories: Biography, Theology, Philosophy, and Miscellaneous items. Each of these classes, with the exception of the last, is subdivided into two parts: books or parts of books, and articles, each with its own separate alphabet. The fourth section is devoted to such books and articles as overlap the other three divisions, or such items as do not properly fit into any one of them. A final section lists MS. and printed Editions.

References pertain to books and periodical articles in most of the scholarly languages, including—besides English—Dutch, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, as well as Latin. In several instances the compiler has noted the fact that a given article has appended to it a substantial bibliography: we hope that this may lead to a richer source of material on the subject. Immediately preceding the Bibliography a list of the abbreviated titles of the periodicals and serials used may be found.

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## ABBREVIATIONS TO PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

- A — Angelicum (Rome)  
 An — Antonianum (Rome)  
 AFH — Archivum Franciscanum Historicum (Quaracchi-Firenze)  
 AGP — Archiv fuer Geschichte der Philosophie (Berlin)  
 AHDL — Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age (Paris)  
 B — Biblica (Rome)  
 BGPM — Beitræge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters (Muenster)  
 BT — Bibliothèque Thomiste (Paris)  
 CF — Collectanea Franciscana (Assisi)  
 CFN — Collectanea Franciscana Neerlandica  
 CS — Cruzeiro do Sul (Petropolis, Brazil)  
 DR — Dublin Review (London)  
 DT — Divus Thomas (Piacenza)  
 EF — Études Franciscaines (Paris)  
 EFs — Estudis Franciscans (Barcelona)  
 EHL D — Études d'Histoire Littéraire et Doctrinale du XIIIe Siècle (Ottawa) (Publications d'Institut d'Études médiévales d'Ottawa)  
 EL — Ephemerides Liturgicæ (Rome)  
 EPM — Études de philosophie Médiévale (Gilson : Paris)  
 ETL — Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis (Bruges)  
 FEC — Franciscan Educationae Conference Report (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.)  
 FF — La France Franciscaine (Paris)  
 FHF — Franciscan Herald and Forum (Chicago, Ill.)  
 FR — Fortnightly Review (Arthur Preuss) (St. Louis)  
 FS — Franziskanische Studien (Muenster-Werl)  
 FSt — Franciscan Studies  
 FTS — Freiburger Theologische Studien (Freiburg i/B)  
 G — Gregorianum (Rome)  
 JPST — Jahrbuch fuer Philosophie und spekulative Theologie (Paderborn)

K	— Der Katholik (Mainz)
M	— Le Moyen-Age (Paris)
MV	— Miscellanea Vermeersch (Rome)
NS	— New Scholasticism (Wash. D.C.)
PJ	— Philosophisches Jahrbuch (Fulda)
REJ	— Revue des Études Juives (Paris)
RFN	— Revista di filosofia Neoscolastica (Milan)
RHE	— Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Louvain)
RIP	— Revue de l'Institut de Paris
RNP	— Revue Néoscolastique de Philosophie (Louvain)
RSR	— Recherches de science religieuse (Paris)
RT	— Revue Thomiste (Toulouse-Paris)
RTAM	— Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale (Louvain)
RTAMB	— Bulletin de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale (Louvain)
S	— Scholastik (Freiburg i-Breisgau — Eupen)
SBS	— Saint Bonaventure Seminary Year Book (Allegany, N.Y.)
SF	— Studi Francescani (Firenze)
TG	— Theologie und Glaube (Paderborn)
TQ	— Theologische Quartalschrift (Rottenburg)
ZKG	— Zeitschrift fuer Katholische Kirchengeschichte (Gotha)
ZKT	— Zeitschrift fuer Katholische Theologie (Innsbruck)

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Social Message of the Early Church Fathers.* By Igino Giordani, translated by Alba I. Zizzamia, Litt. D. (Paterson: Saint Anthony Guild Press. 1944. Pp.x+356. \$4.00.)

We are deeply indebted to Dr. Giordani for giving the world his splendid volumes showing the early development and exposition of Christian social ideas as derived from revelation. This book is the third of a trilogy. The first is *The Social Message of Jesus*. This volume anteceded the others because it was intended as a textbook of Patristic-Homiletics in the School of Theology of The Catholic University of America. The second volume is *The Social Message of the Apostles*.

Reading this book gives one a sense of deep joy and pride in the Catholic Faith, as we see how much more noble and sublime the City of God is when compared to the City of the World. Christian social doctrines view all earthly life from the angle of eternal salvation. The glory of the Church, the splendor of souls redeemed through the grace of Christ, give the trend and tone to all Christian social doctrine.

Dr. Giordani here examines the writings of the Fathers of the second and third centuries for it was they who fixed the limits between pagan and Christian social concepts. To say that Christianity was a rebirth for the old pagan world, is to put it mildly. Here we see how vivid and startling were the contrasts between the doctrine of Christ and that of the pagans. The author portrays the immensity of Christianity's creative force by showing how the ancient Fathers applied Christianity to the social life of their times. In this manner he treats of Church and Empire in the second century, the Attempt at Reconciliation with Classical Thought, Culture, Art and Spectacles. The Fathers condemned not only gladiatorial spectacles but also games and plays on account of their immorality and their abuse of the human body. Tertullian and Tatian especially complain of boxing and wrestling as unbecoming human beings and especially Christians. Here we see the attempt at a reconciliation with the state and the Christian reaction to the laws of persecution. The fortitude of the martyrs and confessors won the empire for Christianity. The violence of the pagan state ruined only itself, as the true Church thrives on the blood of her martyrs. *Sanguis Martyrum Semen Christianorum*. The *Jus Christi* is higher than the *Jus Status*. In a conflict the Christian must choose to obey Christ rather than the state. Martyrdom is ever the price of religious liberty.

Inspiringly beautiful are Dr. Giordani's chapters on the City of God and the New Civic Conscience. Here, we behold the Church live the fulness of her life despite harassing difficulties and long persecutions. The new people of God were a strong leaven in the pagan mass. The entire empire was leavened finally by Christian thought and social ideals. The author states the Church's program in these words:

The basic practical aim of the Church was to Christianize the world; that is, not to flee it so much as to subdue it, forcing it to use rightly even the goods of this earth (p.177).

There follow compact and enlightening chapters on the objectives and the completeness of Christian education, on character, hygiene, beauty, dress, cosmetics, banquets, music, conversation, virginity, marriage, woman's place, children, wealth, labor, solidarity and heretical distortions of social thought.

The book is heavy reading but it richly repays the reader who ponders its many lessons for modern times. The footnotes and "Index" are rich and satisfying, the translation is well done, the format is neat, the type is clear and open. This is a book for thinkers and leaders. It will encourage them to become outspoken in applying the principles of the Cross to our present needs as only thus can the war-torn and greedy world, with all its lust and power, come to lasting peace. Such peace is in the land of justice, charity and truth — the land where Christ is King of every department of life.

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*The Morality of Organic Transplantation.* By Bert J. Cunningham, C.M., M.A., S.T.L. (Washington, The Catholic University Press, 1944. Pp. 120).

Moralists are indebted to Fr. Cunningham for this enlightening and timely study. Since homologous transplantation is no longer a matter for speculation, but an accomplished reality, theologians must face the moral complications involved in such operations. Although such older moralists as Elbel, Reiffenstuel, Saint Alphonsus and others considered the problem of grave mutilation most thoroughly, they did not consider the possibility of an ovarian isoplasty or keteroplasy (corneal transplants).

Among the modern moralists Noldin and Iorio are the only theologians who consider the possibility of such operations. The latter maintain that such operations, since they involve grave mutilations, are gravely illicit (p. 60 f.). Father Cunningham, on the contrary, maintains that "it seems a sufficiently probable opinion that homologous transplantation of the organs or section of the organs from one person to another is licit and commendable, though not of obligation" (p. 71). He presents a forceful argument based upon the fundamental concept of the unity of mankind and the consequent "order of men to one another" and the "unity of men in the Mystical Body of Christ" (p. 71 f.). Although these *ex ratione* arguments of the author do not lack persuasion, they do not seem altogether sufficient to justify the grave mutilation of self for the good of another. Nor is it evident that, in the question discussed, one may do for another what he may do for himself.

But we agree with Father Cunningham regarding the liceity of those operations which involve the grave mutilation of an organ when it will be beneficial not only to the donor but also to the one for whom the operation

is primarily intended. Moralists teach that one may gravely mutilate an organ if it be necessary for the conservation of the entire body or for its betterment. Such is the case which the author mentions of two sisters who suffered "from what may be called complementary ovarian pathological conditions" (p.50). One of the sisters was a victim of amenorrhea (i.e. the abnormal absence of menstruation) and the other of hypermenorrhea (i.e. an excessive menstruation). Upon medical examination Dr. Bennett discovered that one sister had an "excessive necessary substance" for true normalcy. The other had too little of this same substance. The ordinary means were first used to correct the physical disorder in both of these sisters but all medication failed. Dr. Bennett then performed an ovarian transplantation from one sister to the other which proved successful beyond all expectations. Both parties improved rapidly. The one who had been overweight returned to normalcy while the younger sister resumed normal ovarian functioning. In this case and similar cases it seems quite evident that the operation was not only licit but commendable. The operation benefited both individuals.

This dissertation, written under the capable direction of Dr. Connell, C.Ss. R., is an advance in the study of moral problems. Father Cunningham has done an admirable work and is to be congratulated for proposing his solution to the problem of Organic Transplantation. His knowledge of Franciscan moralists, including Reiffenstuel, Elbel, Holzmann, Loiano and others makes this thesis particularly interesting to readers of *Franciscan Studies*.

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*The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.* By Very Rev. Martin B. Hellriegel. (St. Louis: Pio Decimo Press, 1944. Pp.66.)

In the Introduction of this little book on the Mass, it is noted that it is a reprint, except for some minor changes, of articles that had previously appeared in *The Living Parish* (Pio Decimo Press). It is not just another exposition of the Mass. It is brief and simple, and yet scholarly and comprehensive. Every part of the Mass is touched upon, and its meaning in relation to the entire Mass is indicated. The distribution of the subject-matter under the titles, Fore-Mass (Prayer, Instruction) and Sacrifice-Mass (Offertory, Consecration, Communion), is not new, but the manner of presenting it is interesting, practical and somewhat different. The use of diagrams here and there reflects the experienced teacher, and should be of value to other instructors on the Mass. Monsignor Hellriegel's explanation of the Mass should be a valuable aid to priests in their religious instructions and to the laity in giving them a better understanding of the Holy Sacrifice.

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*Carmelite and Poet: A Framed Portrait of St. John of the Cross.* By Robert Sencourt. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1944. Pp. XIV-278. \$3.00.)

Ever since Mother Church on August 24, 1926 set her seal of approval on the spiritual doctrines of St. John of the Cross (1542-91) by elevating this renowned Carmelite ascetic and mystic to the rank of a Doctor of the Church, literature concerning him and his teachings have flooded the literary marts of all nations. Not, indeed, that much had not been written about this saint of God before that time; the very opposite is true as the numerous biographies and studies amply demonstrate. In 1912 a critical edition of his *Opera Omnia* appeared at Toledo; another followed at Burgos in 1929-30; an English translation by Professor Allison Peers was done between 1934-35. Interspersed between were the well-known works by Père Bruno de J-M (Paris, II ed., 1932); by Fray Crisogono of Avila (1929); by Brillant (Paris, 1927); J. Kronseder, (1926); Baruzi (1934); Stanbrook, Watkin, Dom Bede Frost and others. These were quickly followed by Father Gabriel of St. Mary Magalen's, *St. John of the Cross, Doctor of Divine Love* (1942) and by this present volume of Mr. Robert Sencourt, an Oxford student, who once held chairs of English at Lisbon and at Lahore, India, and between 1933 to 1936 acted as Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Professor of English at the University of Egypt. Just as World War II was about to break out an Australian priest, Rev. John J. McMahon, M.S.C., successfully defended at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. his thesis (for the S.T.D. degree): "The Divine Union in the *Subida Del Monte Carmelo* and *Noche Carmelo* of St. John of the Cross"; whereas only this very day the advanced copy of the *New York Times Book Review* (September 23, 1945) announces the appearance of *Journey in the Night. A Practical Introduction to St. John of the Cross* by Rev. Father Brice (New York: Pustet, 1945). The enquiring student naturally looks for the *raison d'être* of this unusual manifestation of literary interest in the humble Carmelite.

The reason for his popularity lies undoubtedly in the fact that St. John of the Cross has captured the modern mind, heart and soul. Men and women alike have realized the truth of the Papal Brief of 1926 which declared him to be "a teacher of holiness and piety" and his works "a manual and school for every believing soul." These thoughts are admirably brought out by Sencourt in the twenty chapters of his portrait of St. John of the Cross dealing with his saintly character, his nationality, his training, his historical setting when the luxury of the late Spanish Renaissance was passing into the Baroque; his social and religious contacts; his difficulties, his virtues, his death, his glory.

Like St. Francis of Assisi, St. John of the Cross would have others realize what he understood so well, that God alone is everything in the universe, not indeed in a pantheistic sense, but in that deep theological conception of the Infinite whereby every comparison with the finite vanishes like the flickering of a candle confronted with the brilliance of the noon-day sun. The knowledge of God, together with the love for and by God, as taught in the Sacred Scriptures and experienced by the soul, is consummate perfection. For St. John the way of union with God is the Augustinian, Bonaventuran and Thomistic way of love. Man's heart is made to love

God, and its inmost longings can find satisfaction only in the divine love — a love not of consolation but of benevolence, a love which wills the good of the Beloved even to the point of forgetting one's own good.

But aside from this, Mr. Sencourt's work will appeal to Franciscans on account of the close spiritual relations of St. Peter of Alcantara with that saint who found in St. John of the Cross a man according to her own heart in her contemplated and achieved reform of the Carmelite Order — St. Theresa of Avila. Her Reform, unfortunately as in the case of the Franciscan Order, divided the Carmelite Order into various Families with distinct Generals. The author has made a valuable contribution not only to *Carmelitana*, but likewise to ascetical and mystical literature in general. He demonstrates that the mysticism of St. John of the Cross is not based *merely* on interior experiences (frequently so deceptive) but rather on deep Scholastic philosophy and theology which as a student he studied at Salamanca (1564-67), and which as Master and Vicar of the Carmelite College at Alcala de Henares (1570), as Spiritual Director at Avila (1572-77) and as Rector of the College at Baeza (1581), he continued to teach and to inculcate. He was, then, ably prepared to avoid the pitfalls of Quietistic passivity so rashly expounded to the detriment of innumerable souls by his co-nationalist Michael Molinos; the aberrations of the Spanish "alumbrados" or Illuminists whose lawless individualism and the "passive contemplation of adoring calm" was rightly censured by the Church; and finally the false doctrines of the Fraticelli — renewed, as it appears, by certain modern extremists claiming that consummate perfection consists *primarily* and *merely* in the total renunciation of self and of one's possessions. Perfection is not something merely negative; it is essentially something infinitely positive. It is not sufficient merely to "lay off the old man"; one must also "put on the new, the Lord, Jesus Christ, who according to God is created in justice and sanctity of truth." This *positive striving* after perfection (cf. Phil. 3; 12), this union with God and cooperation with Christ in doing Christ's work, might have been better emphasized by the author. At times he seems to indicate that mere negative renunciation is, according to St. John of the Cross, consummate sanctity (cf. p. 111). St. John of the Cross had indeed become acquainted with Arabic mysticism at Granada, but that acquaintance occurred too late in life (1581) to influence his doctrine materially. To the mystic St. John of the Cross, as to the Seraphic St. Francis of Assisi, and to the Apostolic St. Paul (cf. Heb. 2, 10; I Cor. 8, 6.) God is all in all: *Deus meus et omnia*. As in life, so in eternity man's only happiness consists in the possession of this Supreme Good; but to reach this "Living Flame" of Love the soul must first make the "Ascent," and then pass through the "Dark Night" of suffering, affliction, and humiliation. Although expressed in mystical terms, St. John's doctrine is in reality nothing more than the well-known "Via Purgativa, Illuminativa and Unitiva"; however, as the author points out, "it is not everyone who knows what this means; and Fray Juan did not write for everyone; he wrote for those who had been called to follow Santa Teresa, to climb barefoot up Mount Calvary." To many his works will ever remain esoteric, enigmatic, disturbing. The values of Mr. Sencourt's study of St. John of the Cross is enhanced by twelve poems in the original Spanish including "The Dark

Night" and the "Song of the Spirit," a mystical conversation of the soul with her divine Spouse.

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*Measgra Mbichil Ui Chlerigh: Miscellany of Historical and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Brother Mbichil O' Chléirigh, O.F.M., Chief of the Four Masters, 1643-1943.* Edited by Father Sylvester O'Brien, O.F.M. (Dublin: Assisi Press, 1944. Pp. XVIII+243.)

Brother Michael O' Cléirigh, better known as O'Clery, died in 1643 or 1644, the date of his death being unknown. His achievement as an historian and linguist places him in the first ranks of outstanding Irishmen of all times. It was, therefore, befitting to pay due tribute to this great Franciscan friar on the tercentenary of his death by the publication of a *Festschrift*.

Naturally the War created great difficulties for the editor in his attempt to honor the memory of Brother O'Clery by a special literary production. Yet despite the limitations which the editor freely acknowledges, the present work is a contribution of no mean worth to Irish history.

In its first part, the *Miscellany* presents nine studies connected with the work of Brother O'Clery (pp.1-116), and in its second part eleven studies in Irish history, linguistics and folklore (pp.119-243). Seven studies are written in Irish; all the others in English. Having no knowledge of Irish the reviewer must leave the Irish contributions out of consideration.

The opening study of Professor Dudley Edwards describes the political and ecclesiastical situation of Ireland during the years 1626 to 1641 with the illuminating clarity and telling conciseness which betray in every line the great master that he is. Friar Canice Mooney crammed a great variety of material into the thirteen pages describing the Golden Age of the Irish Franciscans (from 1615 to 1650). Eleanor Knott's study on O'Clery's *Glossary* and its forerunners opens a practically virgin field to the student. Brother O'Clery's *Glossary* like those of his forerunners are so completely antiquated that they are of an historical but no practical value. Felim O Briain's study of the bibliography and methodology of Irish Hagiography draws the attention of the student to another field of scholarship which has been much neglected of late. This study ranks next to Edward's opening study as the best contribution to the whole work. The biographies of thirteen members of the Confederation of Kilkenny, and the list of Irish students in the University of Louvain are welcome contributions to the general history of Ireland. Fragments of an unpublished Latin life of St. Patrick from manuscripts of the British Museum in London are printed here for the first time. Father Brady rescues from oblivion the name and achievements of Father Christopher Cusack (d. 1624). The *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* by Friar Mac Aodhagain, like the remaining contributions, will have an appeal only to a specialist of Irish history and folklore.



Despite all handicaps Friar Sylvester O'Brien has succeeded in honoring his confrère Brother Michael O'Clery with a fit tribute of homage. The *Miscellany* presents to students first-class contributions which cannot be ignored. Father O'Brien remarks that he refrained from introducing uniformity into the various contributions as to punctuation, use of capitals, manner of quoting references and even as to spelling the name of Brother Michael O'Clery.

We are happy to be able to recommend this tribute to the author of the *Annals of the Four Masters* to all students of Irish history. May copies of this *Miscellany* find a place in all libraries of Irish or Franciscan institutions: this is the ardent wish of the reviewer.

JOHN M. LENHART, O.F.M. Cap.

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*Some Loves of the Seraphic Saint.* By Father Augustine, O.F.M. Cap.  
(Dublin: W. H. Gill & Son, 1944. Pp. vii+162. 7/6.)

This is a work the primary purpose of which is to show to everyone aspiring to sanctity that St. Francis was not *born* a Saint, but *became* such through the grace and love of God. The focal point in the conversion of Francis was his falling in love with God. This love was not mere sentimentality, which is so often mistaken for love, nor was it philosophical speculation on the Goodness of God and his other attributes. St. Francis' love for Christ was true, real, and concrete. The author shows this when he weaves a short biography through the lines of his analysis of that stirring love. The reality of the love of Francis becomes manifest in the writer's choice of three concrete examples from the life of the Saint. St. Francis particularized his love for Christ in the Incarnation by introducing devotion to Christ in the Crib. His love for Christ Crucified was so ardent and intense that Francis became the recipient of the Stigmata. He seemed to exemplify love for Christ in the Holy Eucharist by embodying in his Rule definite exhortations for the care and maintenance of altars and tabernacles which are the homes of Christ on earth. It was this same love for the Eucharistic Christ that moved Francis to respect all priests as his masters, as he knew that they alone had the power to consecrate the Body and the Blood of Christ and bring Him to man. To the mind of St. Francis the reality and intimacy of the love of Christ found expression throughout all nature, as all things seemed to remind him of Christ his Crucified Savior. As the author himself puts it:

" 'To know Christ, the poor Man crucified,' was indeed to Francis the end of all knowledge, and the Crucifix was the explanation of all life. So much indeed did he gather all creation around the Cross that the very worms reminded him of the 'most beautiful of the sons of men' who was so despised and crushed that the Prophet foresaw Him 'as a worm and no man.' Hence he always lifted them up from the roadside and put them gently away out of danger. The lambs he loved with most tender affection because they brought back the thought of Him Whom St. John the Baptist announced to his followers as the 'Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world.' On one occasion seeing a lamb grazing among rams and goats, he said in a voice trembling with emotion: 'Behold, thus our Lord Jesus Christ walked among



the Pharisees and high priests, mild, sweet, and lowly. Even inanimate nature spoke to Francis of Christ. The very stone evoke the memory of Him who was rejected by the builders and afterwards was made the corner-stone; while he always found it difficult to extinguish a taper because it was a symbol of Christ, the Light of the World." (pp.78-79).

The style of the author is clear, simple and fluent, making easy and delightful reading. It is a book which will give every reader a deeper appreciation of St. Francis and a finer perception of the true meaning of the Franciscan spirit, a spirit which so many seem to misunderstand.

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*Thomistic Bibliography.* 1920-1940. By Vernon J. Bourke. (St. Louis: The Modern Schoolman, 1945. Pp. viii-312. \$5.)

It is a pleasant task to announce to the readers of the *Franciscan Studies* the "Thomistic Bibliography. 1920-1940." The author, Vernon J. Bourke, Professor at St. Louis University, has done not only an invaluable favor to Thomistic scholars in particular, but to all students of Scholasticism constantly in need of ready reference to the research work done on the life, the works, the teachings and the influence of St. Thomas. To compile such a bibliography is certainly a tedious work, and it is understandable that the author was even encouraged by the Dominion Fathers, "who naturally would be the logical compilers" of such a reference work. However, the members of St. Thomas' order had already done their share, as Fr. Mandonnet compiled in 1921 an extensive Thomistic bibliography then up-to-date. The present bibliography is, therefore, the continuation of the former, and both together will, for all practical purposes, suffice to give the necessary bibliographical information.

The work is, however, more than a mere enumeration of authors (in alphabetical order) with their books and articles. The "Introduction" gives not only an explanation of the "Rationale of the Bibliography" and of the "Method of using the bibliography," but presents a precise "Chronology of the life of St. Thomas," and what is even more valuable, a systematical and chronological list of the works of the Angelic Doctor.

The *Bibliography* is divided as follows: Previous bibliographies are first enumerated; the present bibliography is then grouped under the headings: I: Life and Personality of St. Thomas; II: The Works of St. Thomas; III: Philosophical Doctrines; IV: Theological Doctrines; V: Doctrinal and Historical Relations. Each group is subdivided into several classes. Thus the author has broken up the entire *Bibliography* into more than fifty topics. We consider this particularly happy, for it will enable even the beginner in Thomistic studies to find desired information. Special indexes at the end serve as guides back to the *Bibliography*. The first presents the proper names of authors and persons mentioned in titles, the second gives "Incipits" of anonymous works, the third enumerates all the periodicals in which articles on St. Thomas are found and refers to the respective numbers in the *Bibliography*, the last gives symbols of frequently cited works.

A cursory perusal of the bibliography itself has convinced the present reviewer of its trustworthiness and exactness. No human work is without some shortcomings, but the very few which were noted in this work are not worthy of mention here. Only the happy duty remains at the request of this review, to congratulate the author on his splendid achievement and to recommend his work to all Franciscan libraries where it will have a place of honor.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M.

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*Giles of Rome: Errores Philosophorum.* By Josef Koch and John Riedl. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1944. Pp. lix-70.)

The circumstances of the arrival of Aristotelianism is the central problem of the philosophy of the Middle Ages. At what time did this invasion take place, where, under what forms, through what factors, how did the philosophical and theological schools react, and what was the reaction of ecclesiastical authorities? These are questions that must be answered by documents of the Middle Ages itself as only the documents can show historical facts in their true light. Too often, however, historians are inclined to project the monochromatic light of their personal appreciation of persons and doctrines on the history of medieval philosophy. The discussions about the author of *De Erroribus Philosophorum* is an illustration of this tendency which will remain classical.

As we know, Mandonnet, in a partial edition at first followed the traditional attribution of this work to Giles of Rome. In a second and complete edition, however, he changed his opinion. In the introduction he wrote: "Maintenant que nous avons sous les yeux le texte intégral de cette production, il devient manifeste que le nom de Gilles de Rome doit être absolument écarté" (Siger de Brabant, II part. Intr. p. xxiv). Mandonnet reached this conclusion on the ground of internal criteria. The attitude of the author of *De Erroribus Philosophorum* towards Aristotle and his opinion concerning the problem of the unicity of the substantial form, seemed in disagreement with Giles' teachings, who up to then was considered Aristotelian and a defender of the unicity of the substantial form. In consequence Mandonnet looked for the real author amongst the Spanish Dominicans of 1260 to 1274. This opinion of the learned Dominican was adopted by De Wulf and Ueberweg.

Making use of the proofs furnished by Hocedez concerning doctrinal variations and changes of Giles of Rome, and of the studies of G. Bruni on the writings of Giles, Josef Koch maintains without hesitation: "Under these circumstances the authenticity is no longer a problem; Giles is best declared the author, and the seemingly opposite reasons are easily invalidated" (p. xxx). The editor justly remarks that subtleties of internal criticism are without value against adequate external proofs. He concludes with this pertinent reflexion: "Mandonnet's denial on critical grounds of the authorship of Giles is a classic example of the limitations in the use of the so-called internal criteria; and in this respect his error has also a positive significance" (p. xc).

The editor finally determines with exactness the data presented by recent studies, and thus arrives at the conclusion that Giles' work, *De Erroribus Philosophorum*, was written between 1268 and 1274, probably closer to 1270.

After a critical study of the manuscripts and the editions, their authenticity, the sources and the date of composition, J. Koch presents a new critical edition of the text itself which is accompanied by a translation by John O. Reidl. The typographical arrangement is a very happy one. The Latin text is on the left side with footnotes containing the critical apparatus. The English translation is on the right and the footnotes contain references to those Greek and Arabian philosophers who appear more directly concerned; not infrequently we find in these footnotes valuable information on Medieval Scholastics, on other writings of Giles, and even references to works of recent authors pertinent to the problems treated.

The war unfortunately has deprived us in the introduction of a sixth paragraph concerning the philosophy of Giles. We are promised a monograph on this point. Such will help us place this tract in the literary activity of the founder of the Aegedian School and within the general frame of the Scholastic philosophy of the last half of the thirteenth century.

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*The Whole Man: Psychology.* By Celestine N. Bittle, O.F.M. Cap. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1945. Pp. x+687. \$3.50.)

Father Bittle, whose series of textbooks on Logic, Epistemology, Ontology and Cosmology is widely known and appreciated, presents to us a further volume on the subject of Psychology. The same clear arrangement and presentation and harmonious incorporation of modern scientific matter, which characterized his previous texts, is found in the present volume. A special feature of the book is the insistence throughout upon the integral nature of man as underlying all vegetative, sentient and rational functions, emphasizing, in this way, the fundamental unity of man in contradistinction to the presentation merely of an aggregate of functions and processes so often characteristic of non-Scholastic treatises on psychology.

The opening chapters treat of Man as an Organism, Cell Life, the Nervous System and the Functioning of the various Senses. Then follow chapters on Imagination, Memory, Instinct and Sensuous Appetency. From the study of these activities and relevant empiric data gathered along the way, the author proceeds to the investigation of Intellection and the Origin of Ideas, and of Volition and the Freedom of the Will.

Then only do we find a chapter on Consciousness. Fr. Bittle is aware that this latter arrangement is unusual. He justifies it by saying that consciousness is an over-all mental state affecting all our sensory and rational activities, and that, consequently, it can properly and fully be understood only after all the sensuous and rational functions have been described and discussed.



In the final chapters "The Vital Principle," "The Soul of Man," "The Human Person," "The Origin of Man" and "The Destiny of Man" are studied.

A "Glossary" giving brief definitions of scientific and philosophical terms related to Psychology, an up-to-date "Bibliography," and a complete "Index" are valuable practical supplements to the book.

Fr. Bittle is to be congratulated on this latest addition to his series of excellent textbooks on Philosophy. It bears the customary evidence of his wide reading, and practical experience in the class-room, and his sure understanding of the needs of the student. We wish his *Psychology* the success it deserves.

BERARD VOGT, O.F.M.

Butler, N.J.

*History of Psychology. From the Standpoint of a Thomist.* By Robert Edward Brennan, O.P. (The MacMillan Company, 1945. Pp. xvi-277. Cloth \$3.00.)

The author is careful enough to state that this *History of Psychology* is not written from the standpoint of Thomism but from the standpoint of a *Thomist*. This means, as far as we understand, that this book is written from a subjective point of view. We have no intention to dispute the right of the author to do that, but we deplore the fact that as far as Patristic and Scholastic psychology is concerned (pp. 45-83 only) the author has not given much evidence of a thorough acquaintance with the material treated. Thus he suggests at least that his subjective viewpoint may be taken as an excuse for the poor, meagre and superficial treatment of the history of Christian Psychology. The journalistic style only emphasizes this subjectivity. Any of the standard histories of Patristic and Scholastic philosophy will be far more informative and more reliable.

The better part of this *History of Psychology* is found in pp. 139-249, which deal with modern and recent psychology. It is here that the author shows himself well acquainted with the various trends and developments within the field. It is this part only that we recommend of the *History of Psychology*.

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*La Dignité Humaine.* By Lecomte du Noüy. (New York, Paris: Brentano's, 1944. Pp. 331.)

Il serait futile de résumer les développements disparates et médiocres réunis par M. Lecomte du Noüy sous ce titre prometteur. De l'aveu de l'auteur (p. 15), *La Dignité Humaine* est moins un livre qu'une succession de "notes au bas de la page" et de "commentaires" constituant autant d'écroissances à son œuvre précédente: *L'Avenir de l'Esprit*, dont il reprend ici avec plus d'ampleur, mais sans plus de précision ni de profondeur,



quelques données jugées particulièrement importantes. Nous nous bornerons donc à souligner la philosophie de la vie que révèle ces pages et en forme la trame secrète, pour l'apprécier à la lumière de la saine raison et aussi (puisque l'auteur se complait à donner des directives religieuses!) à celle de la sagesse chrétienne.

De prime abord, la conception que M. Lecomte du Noüy se fait de la *dignité humaine* ne manque ni de noblesse ni de séduction. L'évolutionnisme matérialiste lui paraît à bon droit l'ennemi le plus irréductible de l'*Esprit* et le fauteur des principaux mouvements de régression qui retardent actuellement la marche ascendante de la civilisation. C'est contre lui qu'il mobilise les ressources d'une dialectique déliée et subtile. Plusieurs des considérations morales et religieuses dont il orne son plaidoyer reflètent un intellectualisme qui semble parfois rejoindre le spiritualisme chrétien lui-même. Ce n'est malheureusement qu'une apparence trompeuse.

Au matérialisme qu'il dénonce, M. Lecomte du Noüy n'oppose en effet qu'un évolutionnisme plus large, qui, en dépit du caractère spiritualiste qu'il tente de lui conférer, s'embourbe dans de plus profondes ornières et s'avère en définitive de la véritable *dignité humaine*. Pour lui, comme pour les matérialistes eux-mêmes, c'est uniquement du processus évolutif de la matière et de l'organisation progressive du cerveau, en dehors de toute intervention créatrice d'un Dieu personnel et transcendant, que jaillissent de façon mystérieuse la *Pensée* et la *Conscience*. Arrivé à ce stade, le *stade humain de l'esprit*, l'*Evolution*, principe de tout ce qu'il y a de divin dans l'homme, se poursuit "non plus sur le plan psychologique, *mais sur le plan spirituel et moral*". Nous sommes encore à l'aurore de cette évolution, continue l'auteur (p. 24), et c'est pourquoi les remous violents de ce changement de régime la dissimulent encore aux yeux de la majorité. La transition entre l'animal ancestral qui frémit toujours en nous, et l'Homme définitif, est trop récente pour que les conflits ne nous paraissent pas souvent déconcertants et incompréhensibles... Pareil au cheval sauvage qui réagit violemment contre le mors, mais différent de la bête en ce que c'est lui-même qui s'impose le frein et qu'il demeure libre de s'en défaire ou de s'y soumettre, l'homme devient enfin véritablement maître de lui-même, et c'est de cette maîtrise, basée sur la liberté de choisir entre la satisfaction des appétits et l'essor vers la spiritualité, que naît la Dignité humaine."

Sur ces prémisses d'une astucieuse habileté, M. Lecomte du Noüy jette les bases de la morale et de la religion de l'avenir. Elles seront essentiellement rationnelles et laïques. Il estime en effet que les idées morales, l'idée de Dieu (ou mieux: de l'Anti-hasard) non exceptée, sont assimilables à des faits scientifiques et relèvent à ce titre de l'activité unificatrice et régulatrice de la Science. C'est à elle qu'il appartient d'épurer les religions, y compris la religion chrétienne elle-même, des superstitions, des rites et des légendes qu'elles ont accueillis dans leur sein pour satisfaire "aux tendances ancestrales de la foule" (p. 170). Le but moral et le rôle social de l'homme de science doit être de réaliser enfin le rêve de Renan d'élaborer "un catéchisme acceptable", une religion intérieure qui ne contienne d'autres mystères que "ceux imposés par notre ignorance momentanée (p. 187).

L'intention de M. Lecomte du Noüy ne laisse donc aucun doute. C'est le trône de la Déesse Raison qu'il tente de restaurer à grand renfort de

considérations pseudo-scientifiques, d'énoncés amphibologiques et de sophismes enfantins. Avec une naïveté à peine égalée par son ignorance religieuse, ce disciple attardé de Renan semble croire à la nouveauté et à la fécondité de sa doctrine. Il n'est pas difficile de voir que son érudition philosophique ne remonte guère au-delà de l'époque de son maître. C'est dommage pour lui, car il aurait trouvé chez les Stoïciens des débuts de l'ère chrétienne, sur son Dieu Anti-hasard et le culte que lui rend l'homme de science par l'étude des lois de la nature et la participation volontaire à "l'œuvre divine de l'Évolution", des considérations autrement profondes que celles dont il étaye lui-même son hypothèse. S'il avait connu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle autre chose que le mépris dont l'honneur Renan, peut-être aurait-il aussi constaté que les Averroïstes latins professaient déjà un rationalisme naturaliste nullement inférieur au sien. Mais ce serait vraiment trop demander à un homme qui ne sait pas encore que les lois de l'argumentation philosophique sont autres que celles de l'induction scientifique, que l'empirisme n'est ni l'unique ni la principale source des connaissances humaines, que l'esprit n'obéit pas aux mêmes lois que la matière, que Dieu enfin transcende l'homme et que celui qui nie cette souveraine transcendance méconnaît toujours en définitive la véritable *dignité humaine*.

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*The Moral Theory of Evolutionary Naturalism.* By William F. Quillian, Jr. (Yale Studies in Religious Education, XVII.) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. Pp. xiii-154. \$3.00.)

Today wide credence is given to the notion that morality is nothing more than conformity to currently accepted mores. This error may be traced to sketicism and subjectivism, which in turn lie at the root of the flat denial of the knowability of suprasensible reality. Catholic philosophy has met and answered both these errors in as far as they are philosophic. Their theological implications have been dealt with by the Vatican Council. In other words, while it cannot be denied that subjectivism and materialism have captivated all too many minds, they present no very difficult challenge to Catholic philosophers and theologians.

Dr. Quillian's thesis would lead one to believe that a non-Catholic philosopher is not too firmly rooted in his position. *The Moral Theory of Evolutionary Naturalism* is an attempt to show the falsity of materialistic evolution as a criterion for morality. The attempt is in part successful, since the author points out that the fundamental flaw in evolutionary naturalism is the aprioristic assumption that what is immaterial is non-existent, or at least inextricably bound up with matter.

The author takes great pains to state the exact position of the chief exponents of evolutionary naturalism: Darwin, Clifford, Stephen, Guyau, and Westermarck. His effort is specially commendable because the champions of evolutionary naturalism are far from being models in the clarity of their ideas. The bulk of the book is negative since one hundred of the one hundred and thirty-eight pages of text are concerned with setting

forth the doctrine of an evolutionary moral and a criticism of the same. Only thirty-eight pages are constructive in aim.

The negative part of the thesis is for the most part sound. We would take exception, however, to the author's placing so much weight on the distinction between a descriptive and a normative science. Whether a science is labeled descriptive or normative (if it be a non-theological science) its judgments and conclusions must rest ultimately on the same source, namely objective evidence. The positive attempt to set forth the metaphysical basis of morality is woefully inadequate. The reason for this is largely due to the author's failure to distinguish the suprasensible from the supernatural. In the first pages of his book Dr. Quillian recognizes a distinction between the natural and the material, but for the rest of his treatment this important distinction is lost. The result is an identification of the immaterial with the supernatural. It is, then, not surprising that his philosophical notion of the human soul is definitely hazy. Equally vague and erroneous is his concept of revelation and, in consequence, his definition of faith, creed, and religion are definitely awry. The book has some value as an exposition of a false and pernicious theory which has influenced countless minds within the last century.

MYLES PARSONS, O.F.M. Cap.

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*The Angel of Peace.* By John Amos Comenius. Edited by Milos Safranek, with an Introduction by Matthew Spinka. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1945. Pp. 127. \$2.00.)

This appeal for a just and lasting peace by a prominent churchman and educator has some historic interest; but, I cannot agree with the writer that it is a "most moving and timely document." It was addressed by Comenius to the peace delegates of England and Holland, meeting at Breda in the year 1667 in an effort to end the commercial wars that had been tearing the two countries for years.

The spiritual tone of the appeal is not so surprising, coming from Comenius; and there is nothing new or advanced in the pleas for justice, Christian unity, freedom of the seas, or the condemnation of revenge, greed and exploitation. The lengthy collection of Scripture texts, mostly from the Old Testament; the promise of another work, "an infallible guide, being prepared by the command of God," by which all men can be united and reconciled; and a series of contemporary prophecies, irrelevant if not absurd and seeming to reflect the tortured mind of a religious fanatic, constitute a mixture of conceit and misguided mysticism which could hardly be expected to impress peace ambassadors in any age.

The whole message has a ring of nostalgia for that Christian unity and authority, that Christian principle of conduct, that universal Christian charity, so lately lost in the Protestant Reformation when so many nations tried to transfer the vast spiritual powers and authority of the Church from popes and bishops to kings and petty princes.



Comenius' appeal failed to produce peace, but its lesson survives. The centre and symbol of Christian unity, insofar as the world has had this unity, has always been Rome. Neither Breda, nor the Hague, nor Geneva, has been an adequate substitute. That the Supreme Pontiff will ultimately have his place in the councils of Christian nations, is a lesson, it is to be hoped, that this little book may give.

VICTOR GREEN, O.F.M. Cap.

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Herman, Pa.*

*Between Heaven and Earth.* By Franz Werfel. Translated from the German by Maxim Newmark. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944. Pp. xi-252, \$3.00.)

This latest book of Franz Werfel contains three essays delivered between the years 1930 and 1937, plus a new section written in American in the years 1942-1944 and now published for the first time.

The book is autobiographical. Other writers have demonstrated that a return to the ways of the spirit and to God is a "must" remedy for this age. What makes the plea in this volume more personal is the fact that Werfel suffered the miseries of which he writes, and that the scales had dropped from his eyes. He here sees more clearly, often with a mystical penetration and profundity.

The first essay, "Of Man's True Happiness," struck me as true, but not deep enough. The author treats man's true happiness from the esthetic level. It is *not* materialism, but it *is* the kingdom of art and poetry. Man's true happiness is a theological question, not an esthetic one.

In the third essay, "Can We Live Without Faith in God?" the author is more convincing. Communism and Nazism (the lecture was delivered in 1932, but still holds good) are examined and repudiated. Werfel's contention in these first three essays simmers down to an argument for the spiritual against the material.

With regard to the "Theologoumina," a Catholic will proceed warily. He will agree with much that is said, and frequently applaud the profound observations on theological truths. In the section, "Christ and Israel," we must part company. The author evidently accepts Christ in a Christian sense, yet says some strange things. For example: "God's Providence actually condemned Israel to reject God Himself for the salvation of the whole world . . . [The] Jew who goes to the baptismal font deserts Christ Himself, since he arbitrarily interrupts his historical suffering — the penance for rejecting the Messiah."

Is not the Gospel of universal application? Christ insisted, for both Gentile and Jew, that unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he could not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. The discerning reader will not accept all the author's philosophical and theological opinions as his own. The book, however, is a sincere document, and represents the effort of a deep, spiritual personality to expose our age of "naturalistic



nihilism." Franz Werfel is a mystic, but as Maynard has pointed out, whereas a true mysticism has led him to Christ, a false mysticism has prevented him from taking the final step.

VENARD KELLY, O.F.M. Cap.

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Mount Calvary, Wis.*

*The Nurse.* By Sister Mary Berenice Beck, R.N., Ph.D., O.S.F. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1945. Pp. xviii+360. \$2.00.)

The author, a teacher and administrator in nursing education, presents what might be called a pastoral manual for the education and guidance of religious and seculars engaged in the care of the sick. It is fairly complete, practical and also interestingly written. Part One covers the spiritual obligations of nurses towards their patients in general and the obligations connected with the different grades and offices. Part Two outlines the nurse's part in the administration of all sacraments except Holy Orders. Part Three considers the care of souls of Catholic patients: Part Four adds supplementary material. With regard to completeness, the present reviewer would like to suggest that a chapter on the relationship between Chaplain, Nurses (especially Sisters) and Patients, be inserted at the end of Part One. It has happened more than once that nurses did not see eye-to-eye with chaplains in the solution of pastoral problems and solved them wrongly on their own hook. This is one of the crosses of some hospital chaplains. The practicability of the volume consists not only in the useful advice it affords and in the reprinting of the Ritual, but also in the fact that it contains much material that is of great spiritual benefit to the nurses themselves. The short poems at the beginning of the chapters and the pertinent stories at the end, not only enhance the interest, but also aid the memory. As a whole it is a very good book and well suited for a text in training schools and as a constant personal companion for nurses.

KILIAN J. HENNRICH, O.F.M. Cap.

*Our Lady of Sorrows Friary,  
New York.*

## BOOKS RECEIVED

BRUCE PUBLISHING CO., MILWAUKEE, WIS.:

*Augustine's Quest of Wisdom*, by Vernon J. Bourke, Ph.D. (ix+323pp.; \$3.00);  
*How to Influence One Another*, by Vincent V. Herr, S.J. (xii+266pp.; \$2.25).

PETER PAUPER PRESS, MOUNT VERNON:

*The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, by E.B. Pusey, D.D., illustrated by Valenti Angelo (Boxed; special edit.).

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW YORK:

*Discovering Plato*, by Alexandre Koyré, transl. by Leonora Cohen Rosenfield (ix+119; \$1.50).

SAINT ANTHONY GUILD PRESS, PATERSON, N. J.:

*Junipero Serra: Priest and Pioneer*, by Michael J. O'Farrell (28pp.; .25).

JOSEPH F. WAGNER INC., NEW YORK:

*Forming a Christian Mentality*, by Kilian J. Hennrich, O.F.M.Cap. (300pp.; \$2.75).

LOGMANS, GREEN CO., NEW YORK:

*Father Theobald Mathew, Apostle of Temperance*, by Patrick Rogers (xxiii+166; \$2.50).

FREDERICK PUSTET CO., NEW YORK:

*Head Above the Stars*, by Giles Staab, O.F.M.Cap. (xv+170pp.; \$2.00).

GRAYMOOR, GARRISON, N. Y.:

*The Graymoor Fathers*, anony.; *Tale of a Troubadour*, by Rev. Samuel Cummings, S.A.

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW YORK, N. Y.:

*The Yearbook of Psychoanalysis, Volume I, 1945* (370pp.);  
*Man, Morals and Society*, by J.C. Flugel (328pp.; \$4.50);  
*The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child (Volume I, 1945)*, (423pp.; \$6.00).

EDITIONS PAX ET BONUM, MONTREAL, P. Q., CANADA:

*Orientations*, by R. P. M. Alcantara Dion, O.F.M. (267pp.).



# CONTENTS

## ARTICLES

Bartman, Roger J., O.F.M. Conv.: Cornelius Musso, Tridentine Theologian and Orator .....	247
Boehner, Philotheus, O.F.M.: Ockham's Theory of Truth. (Part I) .....	138
Boehner, Philotheus, O.F.M.: The System of Metaphysics of Alexander of Hales .....	366
Boehner, Philotheus, O.F.M.: <i>In Propria Causa</i> .....	37
Curtin, Margaret M.: The <i>Intellectus Agens</i> in the <i>Summa</i> of Alexander of Hales .....	420
Gutman, Harry B.: The Rebirth of the Fine Arts and Franciscan Thought (Introduction) .....	215
Habig, Marion A., O.F.M.: Marignolli and the Decline of Medieval Missions in China .....	21
Hannan, Werner, O.F.M. Cap.: Philosophers Against Man .....	162
Huber, Raphael M., O.F.M. Conv.: Alexander of Hales, O.F.M.: His Life and Influence on Medieval Scholasticism .....	353
Lenhart, John M., O.F.M. Cap.: Who Kept the Franciscan Recollects out of Canada? .....	277
Mohan, Gaudens E., O.F.M.: The Prologue to Ockham's Exposition of the Physics of Aristotle .....	235
Mohan, Gaudens E., O.F.M.: A Manuscript of Alexander of Hales .....	415
Prentice, Robert, O.F.M.: The <i>De Fontibus Paradisi</i> of Alexander IV on the <i>Summa Theologica</i> of Alexander of Hales .....	349
Plassmann, Thomas, O.F.M.: The Pointed Arch in Franciscan Theology .....	97
Unger, Dominic, O.F.M. Cap.: Christ's Role in the Universe According to Saint Irenaeus (Part I) .....	3
Unger, Dominic, O.F.M. Cap.: Christ's Role in the Universe According to Saint Irenaeus (Part II) .....	114
Wdzieczny, Gilbert, O.F.M. Conv.: The Life and Works of Thomas of Celano .....	55
Willeke, Bernward, O.F.M.: Fray Manuel del Santisimo Sacramento, The Last Franciscan in Kiangsi, China .....	175

## COMMENTARIES

Boehner, Philotheus, O.F.M.: <i>The Nature and Origins of Scientism</i> .....	309
Moody, Ernest A.: Professor Pegis and Historical Philosophy ....	301

## FRANCISCAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

Herscher, Irenaeus, O.F.M.: A Bibliography of Alexander of Hales .....	436
Herscher, Irenaeus, O.F.M.: Franciscana .....	69, 197, 319

## In Memoriam

† Father Felix Kirsch, O.F.M. Cap., Ph. D., Litt. D. (March 21, 1945) .....	317
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# BOOK REVIEWS

Hans Meyer, and Frederic Eckhoff, trans., <i>The Philosophy of St. Thomas</i> (Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M.) .....	81
Kurt E. Reinhardt, Ph. D., <i>A Reader in Philosophy</i> (Sebastian Day, O.F.M.) .....	83
Werner Jaeger, <i>Humanism and Theology</i> (Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.) .....	84
Frank P. Cassidy, Ph. D., <i>Molders of the Medieval Mind</i> (Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M.) .....	85
Peter R. Basile, O.F.M., <i>History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name</i> (E. A. Ryan, S.J.) .....	87
Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv., <i>Sources of Franciscan History</i> (Nathaniel Sonntag, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	88
J. Fred Rippey and Lynn I. Perrigo, <i>Latin America: Its History and Culture</i> (Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.) .....	89
Mary Foley Horkheimer and John W. Duffor, compl. and ed., <i>Educators' Guide to Free Press</i> (Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M.) .....	90
John A. FitzGerald, compl. and ed., <i>A Catalogue of Catholic Authors and their works in the Utica Public Library</i> (Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M.) .....	90
Edward A. Keller, C.S.C., <i>A Study of the Physical Atmosphere Sometimes Called Weather of the United States</i> (James L. Hayes) .....	91
Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy, <i>How We Live</i> (James L. Hayes) .....	91
Isidore O'Brien, O.F.M., <i>Mirror of Christ: Francis of Assisi</i> (John B. Wuest, O.F.M.) .....	207
James A. van der Veldt, O.F.M., <i>The City Set on a Hill</i> (Myles Parsons, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	207
Aloysius Biskupek, S.V.D., <i>Discussions: Controversies on the Rise of Omnism</i> (Michael Harding, O.F.M.) .....	208
C. S. Lewis, <i>The Problem of Pain</i> (Michael A. Marron, O.F.M.) .....	209
J. D. Stranathan, Ph. D., <i>Parables of Modern Physics</i> (J. A. Mahoney) .....	209
Justin de Montagnau, O.F.M. Cap., <i>Le P. Alexis de Barbeyrieux</i> (Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	210
Georges de Quebec, O.F.M. Cap., <i>L'Eglise Catholique au Canada</i> (Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	210
Anton C. Pegis, <i>The Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas</i> (Ernest A. Moody) .....	301
John Wellmuth, S.J., <i>The Nature and Origins of Scientism</i> (Philotheus Boehmer) .....	309
William J. Doherty, C.S.C., J.U.D., <i>Canonical Procedure in Matrimo- nial Cases, Volume II</i> (Michael Harding, O.F.M.) .....	331
Wendelin Meyer, O.F.M. and Andrew Green, O.S.B., trans., <i>The Pastoral Care of Souls</i> (Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	332
Ephrem Longpre, O.F.M. and Daniel J. Barry, O.F.M., trans., <i>The Kingship of Jesus Christ According to Saint Bonaventure and Blessed Duns Scotus</i> (Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	333
Leonard Hodgson, <i>The Doctrine of the Trinity</i> (Gregory Grabka, O.F.M. Conv.) .....	335

Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., ed., <i>The 'Tractatus de Successionis' Attributed to William of Ockham</i> (J. R. Cresswell) .....	336
Anton C. Pegis, ed., <i>Essays in Modern Scholasticism</i> (Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.) .....	338
Pacifique de Valigny, O.F.M. Cap., <i>Chroniques des plus anciennes églises de l'Acadie</i> (Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	339
Achilles Meersman, O.F.M., <i>The Friars Minor of Franciscans in India</i> (Louis Biersack, O.F.M.) .....	340
Diomedé Pohlkamp, O.F.M., <i>First Franciscan Missionary in Kentucky</i> (Kilian J. Hennrich, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	341
The Most Rev. Paul Yu-Pin, <i>Eyes East</i> (Kilian J. Hennrich, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	341
Igino Giordani, and Alba I. Zizzamia, trans., <i>The Social Message of the Early Church Fathers</i> (Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M. Cap.) ..	457
Bert J. Cunningham, C.M., M.A., S.T.L., <i>The Morality of Organic Transplantation</i> (Bonaventure A. Brown, O.F.M.) .....	458
Very Rev. Martin B. Hellriegel, <i>The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass</i> (David Baier, O.F.M.) .....	459
Robert Sencourt, <i>Carmelite and Poet: A Framed Portrait of St. John of the Cross</i> (Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv.) .....	460
Sylvester O'Brien, O.F.M., <i>Meavra Mhicil Uí Chlerigh, Miscellany of Historical and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Brother Mhicil Uí Chlerigh</i> , O.F.M., <i>Chief of the Four Masters</i> , 1613-1943 (John M. Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	462
Father Augustine, O.F.M. Cap., <i>Some Loves of the Seraphic Saint</i> (Basil Gannon, O.F.M.) .....	463
Vernon J. Bourke, <i>Thomistic Bibliography, 1920-1940</i> (Philotheus Boehner O.F.M.) .....	464
Josef Koch and John Riedl, ed., <i>Giles of Rome: Errores Philosophorum</i> : (Camille Berube, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	465
Celestine N. Bittle, O.F.M. Cap., <i>The Whole Man: Psychology</i> (Berard Vogt, O.F.M.) .....	466
Robert Edward Brennan, O.P., <i>History of Psychology From the Standpoint of a Thomist</i> (Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M.) .....	467
Lecomte du Nouÿ, <i>La Dignité Humaine</i> (Patrice Robert, O.F.M.) ...	467
William F. Quillian, Jr., ( <i>The Moral Theory of Evolutionary Naturalism.</i> ) (Yale Studies in Religious Education, XVII.) .....	469
(Myles Parsons, O.F.M. Cap.)	
John Amos Comenius, <i>The Angel of Peace</i> (ed. Milos Safranek) (Victor Green, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	470
Franz Werfel and Maxim Newmark, trans., <i>Between Heaven and Earth</i> (Venard Kelly, O.F.M. Cap.) .....	471
Sister Mary Berenice Beck, R.N., O.S.F., <i>The Nurse</i> (Kilian J. Hennrich O.F.M. Cap.) .....	472









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